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VOLUME IV

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VOLUME IV

DOCUMENTS OF THE PTOLEMAIC, ROMAN, AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

(Nos. 552–717)

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PREFACE

THIS volume includes all the Greek and Latin papyri at present in the possession of the Library which have not previously been published in the catalogue and thus concludes the undertaking begun by A. S. Hunt in 1911. With two exceptions (**552–3**) the texts here presented are all documents and range from the middle of the third century B.C. to the seventh century A.D.; some were among the earliest acquisitions of the Library, others were acquired either through Rendel Harris in 1917 or B. P. Grenfell in 1920. Apart from the small group of papyri belonging to the famous Zenon archive and published by C. C. Edgar in *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XVIII (1934), only nos. **583**, **589**, **599**, **607**, **609**, and **613** have been independently published; they are reprinted here for the sake of completeness, and while our own publications have naturally been rewritten we have reproduced unchanged the wording of Edgar's edition, placing in square brackets any additions that the lapse of time has made necessary.

Work on this volume was begun some years before the war, but its publication would have been considerably delayed if Professor Turner had not consented in 1946 to share with me the editing of these texts. Professor Turner is responsible for almost all the Ptolemaic and Roman texts as I am for the Archivé of Theophanes and the majority of the Byzantine texts; the Latin texts were divided between us. It hardly needs saying that throughout we have worked closely together.

Before the war preliminary work on some of the Ptolemaic texts was done by Professor F. M. Heichelheim; any places where we have availed ourselves of his work are recorded in the notes. We have been fortunate in being able to consult on a number of points Professor A. H. M. Jones and Mr. T. C. Skeat. Finally, we should like to express our gratitude to the Governors and to the officers, past and present, of the Library, to the former for undertaking in such times so costly a publication, and to the latter for affording us every assistance in our work.

C. H. ROBERTS

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE
OXFORD
February 1951

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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Non-literary texts are printed in modern form with accentuation and punctuation. Abbreviations and symbols are resolved; corrections are usually incorporated in the text and recorded in the critical apparatus, where any faults of orthography that might occasion misunderstanding are corrected. Iota adscript has been written where written in the papyrus; otherwise iota subscript is employed. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets ⟨ ⟩ a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets ⟦ ⟧ a deletion in deletion in the original; dots outside brackets indicate mutilated or otherwise illegible letters, dots within brackets the approximate number of letters lost. Heavy Arabic numerals refer to texts published in this volume or in previous volumes of the Catalogue.

In citing papyrological publications the standard abbreviations have been used; they will be found in *LSJ*, p. xxiii, Table III, with the following exceptions and additions:

P. Adler = *The Adler Papyri*, ed. E. N. Adler, J. G. Tait, and F. M. Heichelheim, Oxford, 1939.

P. Ant. = *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, Part I, ed. C. H. Roberts, London, 1950.

P. Cairo Boak = A. E. R. Boak, 'Early Byzantine Papyri in the Cairo Museum', in *Études de Papyrologie*, II, IV, V, VII.

P. Cairo Maspero = *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine*, ed. J. Maspero, Cairo, 1911–16.

P. Ent. = *Publications de la Société royale égyptienne de Papyrologie, Textes et Documents*, i, *Ἐντεύξεις . . .*, ed. O. Guéraud, Cairo, 1931–2.

P. Giss. Bibl. Univ. = *Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Giessener Universitätsbibliothek*, ed. H. Kling and others, Giessen, 1924–39.

Knudtzon, Bacchiastexte = *Bakchiastexte und andere Papyri der Lunder Papyrussammlung* (*Akademische Abhandlung*), ed. E. J. Knudtzon, Lund, 1946.

P. Merton = *The Merton Papyri*, ed. H. I. Bell and C. H. Roberts, London, 1948.

P. Phil. = *Papyrus de Philadelphie*, ed. J. Scherer, Cairo, 1947.

Schwartz, P. Strassb. 152 = *Papyrus grecs de la bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg*, ed. P. Collomp et ses élèves, Paris, 1948.

Westermann, Upon Slavery = W. L. Westermann, *Upon Slavery in Ptolemaic Egypt*, New York, 1929.

P. Vindob. Boswinkel = *Einige Wiener Papyri* (Pap. Lugd.-Bat. ii), ed. E. Boswinkel, Leyden, 1942.

Among the abbreviations used for periodical publications the following may not be self-explanatory:

AJA = *American Journal of Archaeology.*

Am. Journ. Phil. = *American Journal of Philology.*

Archiv = *Archiv für Papyrusforschung.*

Chron. d'Égypte = *Chronique d'Égypte.*

CR = *Classical Review.*

Ét. de Pap. = *Études de Papyrologie.*

JEA = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.*

JRS = *Journal of Roman Studies.*

Num. Chron. = *Numismatic Chronicle.*

Rev. Hist. Rel. = *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.*
SB Akad. Wien = *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse.*
TAPA = *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association.*

The following abbreviations have been used for works of general reference:

CAH = *Cambridge Ancient History.*
Bauer, *Wörterbuch z. NT*[3] = D. W. Bauer, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, Berlin, 1937 (Fourth edition in course of publication, Berlin, 1949–).
Henne, *Stratèges* = H. Henne, *Liste des stratèges des nomes égyptiens*, Cairo, 1935.
LSJ = *A Greek-English Lexicon*, compiled by H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, new edition revised and augmented throughout by H. S. Stuart Jones and R. Mackenzie, Oxford, 1925–40.
Mayser, *Grammatik* = E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, Leipzig, 1926–36.
Mitteis, *Chr.* = L. Mitteis, *Chrestomathie.*
Preisigke, *WB* = F. Preisigke, E. Kiessling, *Wörterbuch der gr. Papyrusurkunden*, 1925– .
RE = Pauly–Wissowa–Kroll–Mittelhaus, *Realencyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft.*
Segrè, *Metrologia* = A. Segrè, *Metrologia e circolazione monetaria degli antichi*, Bologna, 1928.
Select Papyri = A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* (Loeb Classical Library, I, 1932; II, 1934).
Wallace, *Taxation* = S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Roman Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*, Princeton, 1938.
Wilcken, *Chr.* = U. Wilcken, *Chrestomathie.*
Wilcken, *Gz.* = U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge.*

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

573 2 (p. 23). Messrs. Peremans and van't Dack suggest the following reading: *ἀπὸ τιμῆς οἴνου τοῦ ἐκ τῆς | [e.g. τοῦ δεῖνος γῆς κτλ.*
577. 2 (p. 28). They also point out that *Π[ετεσού]χου* is a more probable restoration than that given in the text.
585 (p. 49). Note to l. 3: read *ἀμερίστους* for *ἀμεριστοὺς* and 'P. Vindob. Boswinkel' for 'P. Wien Boswinkel'.
604. 28 (p. 88). Read *Ἀπύγχις*.
627. 42 (p. 118). *σιγματυρ( )*: perhaps for *σιγμάτουρος*, *with a tail like a sigma*. We owe the suggestion to the Press Reader.
653. 4 (p. 159). Read *παλαιάν*.
654. 9 (p. 161). *ὁ βοηθούμενος* = *my client* (cf. P. Bouriant 20). Therefore restore at the beginning of l. 10 a verb in the infinitive (*e.g.* *[ποιῆσ]αι*), delete note on l. 9 and translate: 'They are bent on making a builder of my client, a man who is a peaceful linen-worker, thereby attempting an illegal act'.
659 (p. 169). This text is closely connected with P. Thead. 13, a report of a hearing before Q. Iper (cf. **653**) in which the same Arion appeals, through his counsel, against the action of the tax-collectors. **659** represents an earlier stage of the same case, as in P. Thead. 13 the petitioner's father-in-law, as well as his wife and children, are dead, and that text itself is the record of the second application he has made to Q. Iper. Since P. Thead. 13 is to be dated in 321 or possibly 322 (see E. H. Kase, *A Papyrus Roll in the Princeton Collection*, pp. 35 sq.), the date of **659** must be pushed back to 320 or—less probably—to 321. Sabinianus will have been Iper's predecessor as *praeses* of Herculia.
660, introduction (p. 170). *ῥοπή* more probably represents a charge for weighing the coins: see L. C. West and A. C. Johnson, *Currency in Byzantine Egypt*, p. 133.
663. ii. 6 (p. 174). Read *Ἁρμάις*.
700. 2 (p. 179). Read *νυκτοστρατήγοις*.

I. MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY TEXTS

552. HEXAMETERS

12×7·5 cm. Second century B.C.

On the recto parts of seven lines from the head and left-hand side of a column written in a crude, bold uncial with a thick pen. The form of the hand and the contents suggests that here is a further specimen of the literary copying of Ptolemy son of Glaucias, the recluse of the Serapeum. Other scribbles of his preserve literary texts (Euripides, *Telephus* (now in Milan), Page, *Gk. Literary Papyri*, p. 17; supposed Euripides, ibid., p. 34; New Comedy, ibid., p. 53; Poseidippus' epigrams, ibid., p. 104, the latter three in the 'Papyrus Didot' in Paris). In these also the hand is execrable, and considerable emendation is called for to restore the text which Ptolemy was copying. This conclusion as to provenance, though unfortunately not reinforced by any external evidence, is perhaps confirmed by the appearance of two columns of accounts on the verso, in a crude but different uncial hand. The ink is badly rubbed, but the top of col. ii appears to read [1] *ι̅. ἐπέμ̣[φ]θη Νουμη* [2] *ν̣[ίω]* (*ἔτους*) *κ̣β Μεσο* [3] *ρ̣[ὴ]* *ι̅* (i.e. 159 B.C.) [4] *ἀ̣πεδ̣ό̣θη Ἀντή* [5] *νορι* (neither Antenor nor Noumenius can be traced in Serapeum correspondence) *ἀνθ' ὑπ̣ο̣μ̣νή* [6] *μα(τος)* *ι̅β̅ Π̣α̣χ̣(ὼν)*.

If we suppose in l. 4 recto *ἔλκε τύχῃ συναρωγέ* to be intended and the extant citations for *συναρωγός* to be complete, the verses are new.

αλ̣ . [.] α̣ . . γ̣ιμ̣η πυ̣[. .]ρεαπ[
κειαι̣ca [.] . ολ . λα [.]αε̣ξ̣χ̣ . [
λα coιc ιν ορας ευδωσιν α̣ . [
ελκε τυχη cυναρο̣ια χρο̣ν̣[
νος τ̣η Αφροδιτη και τα[
κουρα εν χαλκεα̣ς̣ αγυια̣[c
. αι τ̣ι̣ς̣ . ε̣ν̣ . αγω δε φιλ̣ . [

1.]α̣: δ is also possible, for π in πυ̣[, ιc is also possible.
2. Not ολωλα: at end possibly ευχο̣[.
5. Read τῇ⟨s⟩ Ἀφροδίτη⟨s⟩.
6. Read ἐν χαλκεαῖσιν ἀγυιαῖς.

553. LATIN PROSE FRAGMENT

6·5×15·2 cm. Third century.

Part of a column written in a practised and compact cursive reminiscent of P. Oxy. 1114 (A.D. 237). On the score of the handwriting it was originally classified with the documents, but it is reasonably certain that it is part of a literary work, though we have been unable to identify it with any known text. On the verso in a cursive hand of the middle or later third century are six incomplete lines, probably of an account of corn; the only names surviving are *Παταούης Νείλου*, *Ἡρακλείδης*, and *Πάκτων*.

] sim[.]obi̯r . a̯ [
] . t̯erminant̯ r̯e̯ . . . [
?sup]erioris tempori̯s [
]a maximo et pater s[
]ti non sint item[
] cognitionem me̯r̯[
]. e Roma vel expr[
Hisp]aniis duabus n̯ . [
]abus Siciliam [
] . [. .] . r̯e̯nove[m
] . [
. . . .

3. *sup*]*erioris* slightly more probable than *post*]*erioris* or *ant*]*erioris* as, if either of these had been written, some trace of the *t* should survive.

7. Perhaps *ex pr*[*ovinciis*.

II. DOCUMENTS OF THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD (ZENON ARCHIVE)

The documents are printed below in chronological order so far as they are dated or datable.

554. HEADING OF A LIST OF GOODS

12·5×8·5 cm. About 258 B.C.

[P. Ryl. Zen. 1 = SB. 7637: cf. M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, I. 226.]

The list, which has been written along the fibres in a chancery hand, apparently in a single column, no doubt dates from the early years of the correspondence.

῾Ηκεί σοι μετὰ τῶν
᾽Απολλωνίου ξενίων
παρὰ ᾽Αβδημοὺν Σιḍωνίου
ἃ ἀπέστειλεν Ζήνων
ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἐγ ῾Ρόδου,
ὧν τὰ τέλη καταβέβληκε
᾽Αριστεύς.
] ιβ
. . . .

Verso
(2nd hand)]ων Νικάνορι ἐληλυθότων

'There have arrived for you along with the gifts for Apollonius from Abdemoun the Sidonian the following articles which his brother Zenon sent from Rhodes, the taxes on which have been paid by Aristeus: . . .'

1. It is not clear whether *σοι* refers to Zenon or, as the docket suggests, to Nicanor, who was another member of Apollonius' suite (cf. P. Cairo Zen. 59012). Perhaps the goods were delivered to Nicanor in Zenon's absence.

3. *Σιδωνίου*: the δ is very doubtful, but no other word seems possible. Grenfell's copy has *σιτωνίου*, but the letter does not look like *τ*. *᾽Αβδημούν* is the Phoenician name transliterated by Josephus as *᾽Αβδήμων* and *᾽Αβδήμουνος*.

4. *ἃ ἀπέστειλεν* might alternatively be taken as a qualification of *ξενίων*.

6–7. The *τέλη* were the Customs duties at the port of entry. Aristeus, who paid them, was an accountant in the household of Apollonius (see P. Cairo Zen. 59027, PSI. 411).

8. The list began here, *ιβ* being the number of some article, such as wine-jars.

555. LETTER FROM AMYNTAS (?) TO APOLLONIUS

16 × 29 cm. 6 or 9 February 257 B.C.

[P. Ryl. Zen. 2 = SB. 7638]

Amyntas, to whom I have ventured to ascribe this letter, was one of the chief lieutenants of Apollonius. Some of his letters have an individual character rather rare among Zenon's correspondents, and are spiced with uncomplimentary epithets, such as *Καλλιάναξ ὁ κίναιδος*, *Λυσιμάχου τοῦ λιστοῦ*. When Apollonius was travelling in the interior in 258–257 B.C., Amyntas had charge of the household in Alexandria, whence he wrote every few days, sometimes to his chief, but more often to his friend Zenon. A phrase in PSI. 340, *Ἀμύνταν δὲ ἔξω σκηνοῦντα καὶ γεγαμηκότα*, may perhaps refer to the house at Canopus mentioned in the present letter.

. . . .
πυρῶν καὶ τὴν λιν[ο]καλάμην τὴν
νέαν, ἃ ἐκόμισεν ὁ βυβλιαφόρος,
εἰσηνέγκαμεν τῶι βασιλεῖ. γίνωσ-
κε δὲ καὶ τὴν Νικάνορος τοῦ πο-
δαγρικοῦ οἰκίαν τὴν [[οὖσαν]] ἐν Κανώ-
πωι οὖσαν ἐν ἡμῖν τα(λάντων) β καὶ (δραχμῶν) φ.
ἐὰν οὖν οἱ περὶ Ἀντίοχον τὸν ῥαχᾶν
ἐνοχλῶσίν σε, π[υθο]ῦ διότι καὶ
τὴ[ν ἀ]ρχὴν ἡμεῖς π[ρό]τερον προσελη-
λύθαμεν καὶ ἀρραβῶνα δεδώκα-
μεν καὶ . . . τον . . ορ . [
μενον ἀπεστήσαμεν· τὰ δ' αὐτὰ
καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὄντος αὐτοῦ καὶ προσ-
ελθόντος ἡμῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ Σωσιβίου
τοῦ ἐπιστολογραφοῦντος αὐτῶι
ἀπηγγείλαμεν.
ἔρρωσο. L *κη Χοίαχ ιγ*
Verso ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΩΙ.

'. . . The gifts which the letter-carrier brought, consisting of . . . wheat and the new flax, we presented to the king. And you must know that the house of the gouty Nicanor at Canopus is ours for 2 talents 500 drachmae. So if the people of Antiochus the *rachas* importune you, take note that originally we came forward first and have paid earnest-money and repulsed . . .; and of these same facts we notified him when he was here himself and his secretary Sosibius approached us on his behalf. Year 28, Choiach 13. (Addressed) To Apollonius.'

1–3. These gifts were no doubt specimens of the produce of one of Apollonius' estates (cf. P. Cairo Zen. 59560, 59562).

4–6. A house worth 2 talents 500 drachmae, a price to which we have no parallel in Ptolemaic documents, must have been a luxurious one, and Nicanor probably belonged to the Alexandrian aristocracy.

6. Perhaps a deleted letter before *β*.

7. *Ἀντίοχον*: so I read the name, though Grenfell's copy gives *Ἀντίθεον*. The context indicates that this was a man of high position, and it is rather tempting to identify him with *Ἀντίοχος ὁ Κρής* who appears in P. Hib. 110 receiving correspondence by the royal postal service along with the king and the dioecetes; but Antiochus, like Nicanor, was a very common name. *Ῥαχᾶν* is a new word, perhaps a shortened form of *ῥαχιστήν*, 'the braggart'; it is presumably Greek, whereas *ῥακά* or *ῥαχά* of the New Testament is supposed to be Aramaic. The Alexandrians were much addicted to giving nicknames to their distinguished fellow-citizens; see the remarks of Lumbroso in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, IV, p. 67. [E. C. Colwell in *Journal Bibl. Lit.* LIII (1934), 351–4 argues that the N.T. word is not necessarily of Semitic origin and is probably identical with the word here. W. Bauer (*Wörterbuch z. N.T.*[3]) apparently takes the same view.]

8. *πυθοῦ* is very doubtful; there may have been another letter before *π*, and the last letter might be *ι*, e.g. *ἐπίστηι*.

17. The day of the month is either *ιγ* or *ις*.

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556. LETTER FROM ADDAEUS TO ZENON

19 × 16 cm. April 257 B.C.

[P. Ryl. Zen. 3 = SB. 7639]

In three fragments, all of them in very bad condition; the right half is lost. Addaeus was an agent of Apollonius at Memphis, and the present letter has been an account of a sum of money spent by him on various kinds of business. It was received by Zenon at Mendes in the Delta, a town which Apollonius was then visiting on his tour of inspection.

Ἀδδαῖος Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. γέγραφα[
κατὰ τὴν [π]αρὰ σοῦ ἐπιστολὴν . . . α . [
δραχμὰς π[ε]ντήκοντα. τ̣ο̣ύ̣τ̣ο̣υ ἀ̣ν̣ῃ̣[λω
. [. .] . . . . [. . .] . . απ[. . . .] . . . . . ᾳ . [
(δραχμαὶ) η (ὀβολός), ὀψωνίο̣υ̣ . . ξ̣αιωι καὶ ϛ . μ̣α[
(δραχμὴ) α (τριώβολον), ἐβάφ̣θ̣ησαν ἐρίων μναῖ δεξα . . . . . [
βάψαι τὴν ψιλοταπίδα (δραχμαὶ) γ, ἐργάτηι [
ἐλαίου μετρητὰς δύο (ὀκταχόους?), κεράμια ἐλαίου . [
ἔλαιον [. .] . . . [. . ἀγ]ο̣ραζομε̣ν̣ . . . . . [
ταῖς παιδίσκαις εἰς τὰ ἔρια κάλαθοι ιδ (δρ.) α [
μισθὸν ὑποζυγίοις τοῖς κατενένκασιν τὴ̣[ν
ναι εἰς τὴν ἀναδενδράδα (δρ.) ε.

Verso

L κη Δύστρου ι̣α̣, ἐν Μ̣[ένδητι]. ZHNΩNI.
Ἀδδαῖος τοῦ ἀνηλωμ̣έ̣ν̣[ου]
ἀργυρίου λόγος. Α

5. Perhaps *Δοξαίωι καὶ σώμασι*.
8. After *δύο* an abbreviation like *χ* over a doubtful *η*.
10. For these slave girls see PSI. 854 and P. Cairo Zen. 59142.
13. The day of the month might be *η*, *ια*, *ιδ*, or *κ*.
15. The large *α* is probably a number given to the letter by the recipient (see P. Cairo Zen. 59330).

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557. LETTER FROM NUMENIUS TO ZENON

15×13·5 cm. 10 April 257 B.C.
[P. Ryl. Zen. 4 = SB. 7640]

This letter, of which only the left end is in the Rylands collection, the other parts being in Florence and Cairo, has already been published as P. Cairo Zen. 59541, but I reprint it here for the sake of completeness with a few corrections made on a revision of the original. It dates from the time when Zenon was travelling with Apollonius in the Delta, and it was written by a subordinate who wishes to know when they will return to Memphis. But it took 13 days to reach Zenon, and he was actually in Memphis before he received it.

Νουμήνιος Ζ[ήν]ωνι χαίρειν. [πα]ρὰ τὸ γεγραφέ[ναι ἡ]μῖν Ἀπολλώνιον συνα[ντῆσαι αὐτῶι]
εἰς Μέμφιν τῆ[ι] β̄ ἠναγκά[σμε]θα περι[ο]δεύ[ειν] τὸν νομὸν οὐθενὶ κόσμωι, ὅπ[ως ὅ τι τάχος]
ἕτοιμοι ὦμεν τὸν ἀνάπλ[ουν] ποιεῖσθαι. καλ[ῶς] ἂν οὖν ποιήσαις γράψα[ς ἡμῖν πόσας]
ἔτι ἡμέρας μενεῖ ἐν τῶι Μ[ενδ]ησίωι καὶ πότε [τὸν] ἀνάπλουν εἰς Μέμφιν [ποιήσεται],
εὐθέως δὲ καὶ τὰ γενέθλ`ι´α τοῦ [βα]σιλέως ποῦ δι[έγν]ωκεν ἄγειν καὶ τίνι ἡ[μέραι ὡς τῶν]
Αἰγυπτίων ἡ θυσία ἔσται, ὅ[πως] εἰδῶμεν.
ἔρρωσο. L κθ Μεχὶρ ιζ.

Verso
Νουμήνιος περὶ συναντήσεως τῆς ΖΗΝΩ[ΝΙ].
εἰς Μέμφιν. L κη Δύστρου κ,
ἐμ Μέμφει.

'Numenius to Zenon, greeting. Owing to Apollonius having written to me to meet him at Memphis on the 2nd I have been obliged to travel round the nome without any method, in order that I might be ready to sail up immediately. Please, then, write to me how many more days he is going to remain in the Mendesian nome and when he will sail up to Memphis, and tell me also directly where he has decided to celebrate the king's birthday and on what day in the Egyptian calendar the sacrifice will take place, in order that I may know. Farewell. Year 29, Mecheir 17. (Addressed) To Zenon. (Docketed) Numenius about meeting at Memphis. Year 28, Dystrus 20, in Memphis.'

5. The king's birthday fell sometime in the Macedonian month of Dystrus. But a Macedonian date was of little use to Numenius, who naturally reckoned by the more convenient Egyptian calendar.

7. It will be noted that Numenius writes 'year 29' and Zenon 'year 28'. The former was the financial year beginning on the 1st of Mecheir, the latter the regnal year beginning a little later about the end of Dystrus.

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558. LETTER FROM CRITON TO ZENON

20·5×11·5 cm. Date of reception: about 11 July
[P. Ryl. Zen. 5 = SB. 7641] 257 B.C.

Criton the *στολάρχης*, commander of Apollonius' little fleet, requests his colleague Zenon, who was at present staying in Alexandria, to have the *θαλαμηγός* of Petechon made ready for the use of a certain Plistarchus. As *θαλαμηγός* usually means a river-boat, and as the captain was an Egyptian, it is probable that Plistarchus was making an inland voyage, though the name of his destination is lost.

Κρίτων Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. συντέταχεν Ἀπολλώνιος τὴν [θαλαμηγὸν τὴν Πετε-]
χῶντος δοῦναι Πλειστάρχωι ὅπως ἀποκατασταθῆι εἰς . [. . . . . καλῶς]
οὖν ποιήσεις δούς τινα αὐλαίαν ὅπως παράβλημα ἔχηι. ὑ[πάρχουσιν δὲ νῦν]
ναῦται δ. προσμισθώσασθαι οὖν σύνταξον `Πετεχῶντι´ ἄλλους δ [ὥστε γενέσθαι πάν-]
5 τας η̄, καὶ δὸς τοῖς η ἑκάστωι σὺν τῶι σίτωι εἰς τὸν [πλοῦν ὀψώνιον]
χαλκ[ο]ῦ (δραχμὰς) θ, καὶ συναπόστειλον αὐτὴν ἐν τάχει. ἔρρωσο. L [κθ]
λαβὲ δὲ καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας τ[ῶν ναυτῶν].

Verso

Κρίτων περὶ θαλαμηγοῦ ἵνα ΖΗΝѠΝΙ.
δοθῆι Πλειστάρχωι καὶ ναυτῶν.
10 L κθ Δαισίου ι, ἐν Ἀλεξαν(δρείαι).

'Criton to Zenon, greeting. Apollonius has ordered the barge of Petechon to be given to Plistarchus in order that he may betake himself to . . . . Please, therefore, give him some awning to provide him with a screen round the side. There are at present 4 sailors on board; so order Petechon to engage 4 more, making 8 in all; and give each of the 8 along with his corn 9 drachmae in copper as wages for the voyage. And dispatch the barge in haste. Farewell. Year 29, ... (Postscript) And also take the descriptions of the sailors. (Addressed) To Zenon. (Docketed) Criton about the barge, to have it given to Plistarchus, and about the sailors. Year 29, Daesius 10, in Alexandria.'

1. This may be the θαλαμηγός mentioned in PSI. 332.
2. The letter before the lacuna begins with an upright stroke.
4. Or perhaps ναύ]τας.
5. εἰς τὸν [μῆνα is also possible, though the usual phrase is τοῦ μηνός unless the month is specified. The last word might also be πρόδομα.
7. The δ of δέ perhaps written over a κ. The 'descriptions' were identification marks.

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559. LETTER FROM MARON TO ZENON

17×12 cm. Date of reception: about 14 July
[P. Ryl. Zen. 6 = SB. 7642] 257 B.C.

Maron was an employee of Apollonius at Philadelphia both before and after Zenon had taken charge of the estate there. The present letter was evidently a request for an increase of salary. It begins in a large, ligatured hand, which gradually becomes smaller and more cursive. The break on the right is quite straight, so probably the other half of the papyrus is in existence somewhere.

Μάρων Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. καλῶ[ς
φαίνεται, εἰς τὸ ὀψώνιον ἔτι (δραχμὰς) β (τριώβολον) ὥστε π . [
μοι εἰς τά τε ἄλετρα καὶ ὕδωρ ἀγοράζειν [
σοὶ δ' ὡς φαίνεται οὕτω ποίει. πολλοὶ δὲ διατρίβου[σι
5 `φυλακίαι´ λαμβάνουσι ὀψώνιον (δραχμὰς) ιε καὶ πυρῶν ἀρτάβας [

Verso

Μάρων περὶ τοῦ ὀψωνίου. ΖΗΝΩΝΙ.
L κθ Δαισίου ιδ,
ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι.

'Maron to Zenon, greeting. Please assign me, if you think fit, 2½ more drachmae for my salary . . . to provide for the cost of grinding and for buying water. . . . But do just as you think right yourself. Many persons are occupied . . . those engaged in guarding receive a salary of 15 drachmae and . . . artabs of wheat. (Addressed) To Zenon. (Docketed) Maron about his salary. Year 29, Daesius 14, in Alexandria.'

1. For example, *καλῶς ἂν ποιήσαις προσθείς μοι, εἴ σοι φαίνεται.*
2. He means of course his monthly salary.
3. Though Grenfell read *ἄλευρα*, I think that *ἄλετρα*, another form of *ἄλεστρα*, is quite certain. The omission of *τό* before *ὕδωρ ἀγοράζειν* is nothing unusual. The water of which Maron speaks was no doubt water for household use brought round by carriers in goatskins (cf. PSI. 528, 11–12).

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560. LETTER FROM APOLLONIUS TO ZENON

31·5 × 12 cm. 3 October 256 B.C.
[P. Ryl. Zen. 7 = SB. 7643]

A brief note of approval from the dioecetes, the king's minister of finance. As Zenon was now stationed at Philadelphia, and as the letter was written on the 13th of Mesore and received on the 14th, Apollonius must have been staying in the neighbourhood.

Ἀπολλώνιος Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. ὀρθῶς
ἐποίησας ἀποστείλας τὸν ἐρέβινθον
εἰς Μέμφιν.
ἔρρωσο. L λ Λωίου ις Μεσορὴ ιγ.

Verso

5 L λ Λωίου ιδ Μεσορὴ ιδ. ΖΗΝΩΝΙ.
Ἀπολλώνιος ἐρεβίνθου.

'Apollonius to Zenon, greeting. You did right to send the chickpeas to Memphis. Farewell. Year 30, Loius 16, Mesore 13. (Addressed) To Zenon. (Docketed) Year 30, Loius 14, Mesore 14. Apollonius about the chickpeas.'

5. *Λωίου ιδ* ought to be *ιζ*, but Zenon had already lost touch with the Macedonian calendar.

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561. LETTER FROM ETEARCHUS TO ZENON

10 × 24 cm. July–August 251 B.C.
[P. Ryl. Zen. 8 = SB. 7644]

Written in a large hand along the fibres; a junction of two sheets runs down the middle. The writer appears from other documents to have been a nomarch, and it is not clear in what relation he stood to Zenon; but certainly the two men worked in close contact.

Ἐτέαρχος Ζήνωνι
χαίρειν. ἐπειδὴ
τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφεῖτ[αι],
ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ
παρόντος οὐ χρείαν
ἔχομεν, καλῶς ποι-
ήσεις διαχώσας
ἵνα τά τε ἔργα συν-
τελεσθῇ καὶ τὰ
ἄμμινα ἀνακαθαρ-
θῇ.
ἔρρωσο. L λε Παῦνι [.]
Verso ΖΗΝΩΝΙ.

'Etearchus to Zenon, greeting. As the water has been released, and as we have no need of it at present, please dam up the outlet in order that the works may be completed and the outcrops of sand cleared away. Farewell. Year 35, Pauni. (Addressed) To Zenon.'

8–11. The work of reclamation was evidently being carried on near Philadelphia, and quite probably on the estate of Apollonius.

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562. LETTER FROM BUBALUS TO ZENON

11×33·5 cm. 16 August 251 B.C.

[P. Ryl. Zen. 9 = SB. 7645]

Written in a large hand. Bubalus, who was an agent of Apollonius, appears to have been stationed somewhere in the Memphite nome (cf. PSI. 354), though in an earlier document we find him delivering a list of goods imported through Pelusium to Alexandria (P. Cairo Zen. 59012). The subject of the present letter is the provisioning of the cavalrymen who were going down from their holdings to take part in the great festival called the Penteteris or Ptolemaieia. Though not published before in full, it has often been referred to and quoted, especially by Rostovtzeff, *Large Estate*, p. 121, and Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, IV, pt. 2, p. 604. Its chief interest is that it helps to determine the chronology of the festival. [For the history of the festival and the chronological importance of this text see C. C. Edgar in *Mélanges Maspero*, II. 53–6.]

Βούβαλος Ζήνω-
νι χαίρειν. ἔγρα-
ψάς μοι ἀξιῶσαι
Φανίαν τὸν γραμ-
ματέα τῶν ἱππέ-
ων παρασχεῖν
ἀγορὰν ἐν Μεία[ι]
τοῖς καταβαίνουσ[ιν]
ἱππεῦσιν εἰς τὴν
πενθετηρίδα. γίνω-
σκε οὖν παρὼν Λέ-
ων ἔφη ἐξειληφέναι
τινὰ τὴν μαγιρι-
κὴν καὶ τάσσεσθαι
εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν
τὸν φόρον, ὃς παρέξεται

ἀγοράν, ὡσαύτως δὲ
καὶ οἱ ἐλαιοκάπηλοι
οἱ τὴν διάθεσιν ἐξει-
ληφότες παρέξουσιν
ἔλαιον, ὥστε μηθὲν
ἐνλιπεῖν. τοὺς μέν-
τοι σταθμοὺς παρε-
δείκνυον Μελίτωνι
καὶ τοῖς μεθ' αὐτοῦ.
γέγραφα οὖν σοι ἵνα
εἰδῆις.

ἔρρωσο. L λε Παῦνι κ̄ς̄

Verso [[ZHNΩNI]]

(2nd hand, in reverse direction.)

ἔρσενος σὺν σάγμασι (δραχμαὶ) κη
καὶ σάγματα
ἄλλου (δραχμαὶ) κ
ἄλλου (δραχμαὶ) ιβ
θηλείας (δρ.) κ, (γίνονται) π
ἄλλης (δρ.) [[κ]] λβ
(γίνονται) ριβ

'Bubalus to Zenon, greeting. You wrote to me to request Phanias the secretary of the cavalrymen to provide supplies at Meia for the cavalrymen who are going down to the Penteteris. You must know, then, that Leon who has been here said that a certain person has taken up the meat contract, paying the rent to the Treasury, and he will provide supplies; likewise also the oil-dealers who have contracted for the sale in retail will provide oil; so that nothing will be lacking. As for the billets, I have in fact been pointing them out to Meliton and his companions. I have therefore written to let you know. Farewell. Year 35, Pauni 26. (Addressed) To Zenon.

'(Account, in another hand.) For a male donkey with saddle-bags 28 drachmae; inclusive of saddle-bags, for another male 20 drachmae, for another 12 drachmae, for a female 20 dr., total 80; for another female 32 dr. Total 112.'

4. Phanias, whose name appears in many contemporary documents, was an important official having economic and administrative authority over the cavalry settlers in various nomes.

7. A village in the Memphite nome.

11. An agent of the Memphite oeconome (see PSI. 372).

12–16. The context shows that Rostovtzeff was right in taking this to be a contract with the government for the right of dealing in meat in a certain locality rather than the farming of a tax on butchers. Compare Wilcken's remarks in *Archiv*, VIII, p. 79.

18. For the place of these retailers in the machinery of the great oil monopoly see *Revenue Laws*, cols. 47–8.

28. Grenfell's copy has κ̄δ̄, as given by Ernst Meyer and Beloch, but κ̄ς̄ is almost certain.

29. The address has been deleted when the verso was used for the note about the donkeys, which has no connexion with the letter.

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563. LETTER FROM PATAECION TO ZENON

34×16 cm. 23 May 250 B.C.

[P. Ryl. Zen. 10 = SB. 7646]

An amusing instance of how the subordinates of a great official might combine to circumvent a troublesome petitioner. At the time when the letter was written Zenon must have been paying a visit to Apollonius (see note on l. 9).

[[Παταικίων]] Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. προσεβαλόμεθα εἰς τὸ Ἀριστοδήμου ὄνομα
οἰκίαν Σοκέως τοῦ Νεχαύιος μαχίμου ἐν Αὐήρει· ἀκηκόαμεν δὲ καταπεπλευ-
κέναι ὅπως ἔντευξιν ἐμβάλη[ι Ἀπ]ολλωνίωι περὶ ἡμῶν, παραλιπὼν τόν

τε ἀποδόμενον καὶ τὸν ἀγοράσαντα, οἰόμενος ἡμᾶς διασείσιν ἐὰν
5 Ἀπολλωνίωι ἐντύχηι. καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις, εἴ σοι εὔκαιρόν ἐστιν καὶ ἂν ἐν δυ-
νατῶι ἦι, μετελθεῖν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὅπως μὴ καταγινωσκώμεθα ὑπὸ
τῶν λοιπῶν. γεγράφαμεν δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίωι τῶι ἑρμηνεῖ περὶ τούτων,
ὅπως ἂν καὶ ἐκεῖν⟨ος⟩ κακώσηι αὐτὸν καθὸ δύναται.

ἔρρωσο. L λς Φαρμοῦθι ᾱ.

Verso

10 ΖΗΝΩΝΙ. τῶι ἐκ Φιλαδελφείας.

'⟨Pataecion⟩ to Zenon, greeting. I assigned to the possession of Aristodemus a house of Sokeus son of Nechauis, a native soldier, in Aueris, and I have heard that he has sailed down to present a petition to Apollonius about me, ignoring both the seller and the buyer, with the idea that he will discomfit me if he appeals to Apollonius. If, therefore, you have an opportunity and if it be practicable, will you please take action against the fellow, in order that I may not be discredited by the rest of them. I have written also to Apollonius the interpreter requesting him also to do the man as much damage as he can. Farewell. Year 36, Pharmouthi 1. (Addressed) To Zenon. (Docketed by the sender) The Philadelphian.'

1. Pataecion, whose name has been deleted (I do not know why), was one of Zenon's agents. Apparently he had assigned to Aristodemus as the result of an auction (for the use of *προσεβαλόμεθα* in this sense cf. UPZ., p. 534, and P. Cairo Zen. 59354, 22) a house which was said to be that of Sokeus but which had been sold by a third party, *τὸν ἀποδόμενον*. The situation is not quite clear, but one possibility is that the seller was a creditor recovering a loan by distraint, while Pataecion was acting as a *πράκτωρ*. The question at issue seems to be whether he had a right to dispose of the house (cf. P. Tebt. 5, 231 ff.).

2. *Αὐήρει*: a village in the *μερίς* of Heraclides and in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais Hormu, forming part of the *τῶν ἔξω τόπων* (cf. *Enteuxeis*, p. 216). The name may have survived in the modern Hawara.

6. *μετελθεῖν* means that Zenon was to prejudice Apollonius against the complainant.

7. This interpreter is mentioned again in P. Cairo Zen. 59065 and PSI. 409. He might easily have used his position to do an ill turn to a native petitioner.

9. The date is interesting. Reckoned by the regnal year it would be 22 May 249 B.C., but reckoned by the financial year 23 May 250 B.C. As we know from P. Cairo Zen. 59299–301 that Zenon had gone down to Alexandria at the latter time, there is a strong probability that the date is a financial one. Indeed it seems to me not unlikely that the financial year was the one generally used for dating by the Greeks in the *χώρα*. Cf. P. Mich. Zen., p. 55.

10. The docket, which is on the fold next to that on which the address was written, was added by Pataecion to identify the addressee.

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564. ACCOUNT OF WINE

10×25 cm. 16 July 250 B.C.
[P. Ryl. Zen. 11 = SB. 7647]

[On the metrological data in this text see A. Segrè, 'Nuovi Punti Metrologici', in *Symbolae Osloenses*, XIII. 68–73. He infers that the Ptolemaic chous equalled 4·852 litres.]

L λς Παχὼνς κϵ̄
ὄξους τοῦ ἐν τοῖς Σωστρά-
του ἐκμετρηθέντος Ὥρωι
ἀπὸ κερ(αμίων) ξβ

Θηβαίων ι
ἡμικαδίων ς
καὶ ἐν ἄλλωι ταμιήωι κερ(άμια) ιζ
ἡμικάδια ιθ
/ κεράμια πθ
ἡμικάδια κε
τούτων ῥυάδες κερ(άμια) β
λοιπὰ κερ(άμια) πζ
ἡμικάδια κε
ἃ ἐκμετρηθέντα ἐξέβη
ἐν κεραμίοις πβ
ἐν οἷ[ς] μετρηταὶ Ἀρσινόης (ἑξάχοοι)′ οη
/ Ἀττικοὶ μετρηταὶ (δωδεκάχοοι) νη∠
τρυγίου κερ(άμια) η
καὶ ὑπαρχεν ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰς
[Μέμ]φιν μετρηθέντος
ὄξους τρυγὸς κερ(άμια) δ
ὥστ᾽ εἶναι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα
ἐν ταμιήοι⟨ς⟩ τρυγὸς κερ(άμια) ιβ
καὶ τὰ εὑρεθέντα ὑπο-
ζ⟨έ⟩οντα κερ(άμια) γ

'Year 36, Pachons 25. Account of the sour wine which was measured out to Horus on the estate of Sostratus: contents of 62 jars, 10 Theban jars, 6 half-jars; and in another storehouse 17 jars, 19 half-jars; total 89 jars, 25 half-jars; deduct as produce of diseased grapes 2 jars, remainder 87 jars, 25 half-jars. These when measured out came to 82 jars containing 78 six-chous metretae of Arsinoe, equal to $58\frac{1}{2}$ twelve-chous Attic metretae; 8 jars of lees; and from the sour wine measured out for Memphis there were left 4 jars of lees, so that the amount of lees now in the storehouses is 12 jars; and 3 jars which were found to be fermenting.'

2. Sostratus was a friend of Zenon and joint owner with him of a large vineyard.

5. *Θηβαίων* is written over a deleted word.

16. *Ἀρσινόης*: perhaps the standard measure kept in the temple of the goddess Arsinoe, like the artaba called *Ἑρμοῦ*. It cannot be the measure used in the *ἀπόμοιρα* of Arsinoe, which contained 8 choes. There is perhaps a reference to the *Ἀρσινοικὸς μετρητής* in P. Cairo Zen. 59271.

17. This line is interpolated. It appears from the equation that 1 Ptolemaic chous = $1\frac{1}{2}$ Attic choes, which, so far as I know, is a new metrological datum.

19. Read *ὑπῆρχεν* rather than *ὑπάρχει*.

21–2. In the left margin opposite these lines are the figures $\lambda\theta$ (= $\frac{1}{2}$ of $o\eta$ in l. 16) and below, $\iota\theta\angle$ (= $\frac{1}{2}$ of $\lambda\theta$).

24–5. Cf. BGU. 1549, where *ἀποζέσαντα* must surely mean 'after fermentation'.

565. LETTER FROM DEINON TO ZENON

13×17 cm. About 31 December 250 B.C.
[P. Ryl. Zen. 12 = SB. 7648]

Only the right side of this letter is in the Rylands collection, but the left side has been identified among the Zenon papyri in the British Museum (Inventory 2678) and with the kind permission of Mr. Bell I print the two fragments together. It is written in a large chancery hand. We possess another letter of the same correspondent, PSI. 376+P. Cairo Zen. 59415, and he is no doubt also the author of P. Hib. 44. He is mentioned again in PSI. 858 (*Δείνωνι ἐμ Μέμφει*) and in P. Mich. Zen. 100. That the *τῶν περὶ Δείνωνα* of P. Cairo Zen. 59001 refers to the same man is not impossible, though that text is 24 years older. His title is nowhere given, but he was evidently a high official.

Δε⟨ῖ⟩νων Ζήν[ωνι χαίρειν]. ἀκούω σε θᾶσσον τοῦ
δέοντος ἐξε[λθόντα . . . . . .]̣πάσαι. ἔδει μὲν οὖν σε
μὴ ἐνοχληθῆ[ναι, ... πρ]ὸς ἡμᾶς γράψαι ὅπως
εἴδημεν· προσεδ̣[εχόμεθα γάρ σ]ε αἰεὶ παρέσεσθαι.
καλῶς οὖν ποιή[σεις τήν τε ταχ]ίστην ἀναλαμβάνων
καὶ προσέχων τ̣[ὸν νοῦν ἵνα βεβ]αιότερον ἰσχύσηις.
γράφε δὲ καὶ ἐά[ν τινος τῶν παρ' ἡ]μῖν χρείαν ἔχηις·
ὅτι γὰρ ἡδέως π̣[οιήσομεν οὐκ οἶμαί σε ἀγ]νοεῖν.
ἔρρωσο. L λς Ὑπερβε⟨ρεταίου⟩ κδ.

'Deinon to Zenon greeting. I hear that having gone out sooner than you ought you have had a relapse. Now you ought not to have troubled but simply written to us to let us know; for we were expecting you to come at any moment. So please try to recover as fast as possible and take care that your health is soundly established. And write if ever you have need of anything here; for I am sure you know that we will gladly do your bidding. Farewell. Year 36, Hyperberetaeus 24.'

2. *ὑποτρο]πάσαι* would be of the right length, but the only known forms are *ὑποτροπασθῆναι* and *ὑποτροπιάσαι*.

4. Probably *εἴδημεν* = *ᾔδειμεν* (cf. *εἴδην* in P. Cairo Zen. 59643, 15) and is not to be corrected to *εἰδή⟨σω⟩μεν* or *εἰδ⟨εί⟩ημεν*. The construction is a rarity in texts of this kind, but Deinon writes a rather superior style.

8. The end of this line is written in much smaller characters, so that the suggested supplement is probably not too long.

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566. LETTER TO ZENON

24×12 cm. February, 249 B.C.
[P. Ryl. Zen. 13 = SB. 7649]

The writer appends a receipt from Cephalon for 30 drachmae for horticultural work. The receipt is addressed to Zenon, though the original was apparently delivered to his correspondent. Written in a large clear hand.

[. . . . . .]ος Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. ὑπογέγραφά σοι τῆς παρ[ὰ Κεφάλωνος]
[ἐπιστο]λῆς τὸ ἀντίγραφον. ἔρρωσο. L λς Χοία[χ . .]
[Κεφά]λων [[. . .]] Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. ἔχω παρὰ Σπα[
[εἰς] τὸν σκαφητὸν καὶ εἰς τομὴν καὶ εἰς φυτη[κομίαν]
5 [δρα]χμὰς τριάκοντα. ἔρρωσο. L λς Χοία[χ . .]

Verso

[L λς Χοία]χ κ ΖΗΝΩΝΙ.
[ἀντίγραφον] ἐπ(ιστολῆς) Κεφάλωνος.

'. . . to Zenon greeting. I have appended for you a copy of the letter from Cephalon. Farewell. Year 36, Choiach . . .

'Cephalon to Zenon greeting. I have received from Spa . . . for hoeing and cutting and dressing the trees thirty drachmae. Farewell. Year 36, Choiach . . . (Addressed) to Zenon. (Docketed) Year 36, Choiach 20. Copy of a letter of Cephalon.'

1. [*Ἀνδρόνικ*]ος is a possible supplement, for a man of that name appears as a vine-dresser in several of Zenon's accounts.
3. Or possibly *παρ' Ἄσπα*[.
6. The *κ* seems to be written over *ια*.

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567. LETTER FROM DIOSCURIDES TO ZENON

7·5×13 cm. Undated.

[P. Ryl. Zen. 14 = SB. 7650]

This short letter, which is written along the fibres, refers to building operations at Philadelphia. Dioscurides was an agent whom Zenon employed on various kinds of work.

Διοσκουρίδης Ζήνωνι
χαίρειν. παρακεκο-
μίκαμεν γωνιείους
παρὰ Στοτοήτιος
5 τοῦ λατόμου
ἕως λ̄ τοῦ Μεχεὶρ
ωκ. ἔρρωσο.

Verso ΖΗΝΩΝΙ.

'Dioscurides to Zenon greeting. Up to the 30th of Mecheir we have transported 820 corner-stones delivered by Stotoetis the quarryman. Farewell. (Addressed) to Zenon.'

3. Understand *λίθους*. Cf. P. Cairo Zen. 59745, 54.

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568. LETTER FROM PHILINUS TO ZENON

11 × 35·5 cm. Undated.
[P. Ryl. Zen. 15 = SB. 7651]

Philinus was a man of property who appears to have been in very close relationship with Zenon. The two corresponded frequently, chiefly about services which one was doing for the other. For further details and surmises about his position see Rostovtzeff, *Large Estate*, p. 175. We do not know where he resided, but it cannot have been far from Philadelphia; the word *καταποστείλας* in l. 12 suggests a locality either in the north of the Fayum or in the Memphite nome.

The present letter is written in the large, untidy hand characteristic of Philinus (see P. Cairo Zen. III, pl. 25).

Φιλῖνος Ζήνωνι
χαίρειν. καθότι ἔγρα-
ψας περὶ Ζήνωνος
ἐνέτυχον [Ἀ]φθο-
νήτωι καὶ διοικη-
θήσεται ὥσπερ
γράφεις. καλῶς δὲ
ποιήσεις κατὰ τὸ ὑ-
πόμνημα ὅσα εἰς
τὴν δοχὴν ἕτοι-
μα ποιησάμενος
καὶ καταποστεί-
λας εἰς τὴν ῑ τοῦ
Χοίαχ ἢ ιβ. καὶ σὺ
δὲ εὖ ποιήσεις παρα-
γενόμενος μετὰ
τῶν ἀδελφῶν· θύω
γὰρ ὑπέρ τε ἐμοῦ
καὶ σοῦ. κατασκεύ-
ασον δὲ καὶ πίνα-
κας κε, τὸ ἀνὰ
μέσον πῆ(χυν) ᾱ δα(κτύλους) η̄
μέγαν, ἵνα δοθῆι
τοῖς πίνουσι καθό-
τι τοῖς Ἑρμαίοις.
ἀπέστα⟨λ⟩κα δέ σοι
καὶ τὸ μέτρον τοῦ
πίνακος· ὧδε μὲν
γὰρ οὔ φασι δυνήσε-
σθαι τηλικούτους ποι-
ῆσαι, νυνὶ δὲ ἀναγκάζον-
ται δύο διδόναι. ἔρρωσο.

Verso ΖΗΝΩΝΙ.

'Philinus to Zenon greeting. In accordance with what you wrote about Zenon I interviewed Aphthonetus and it will be arranged as you write. Be good enough to make ready all the things required for the reception according to the memorandum and to send them down by the 10th of Choiach or the 12th. And please come yourself along with your brothers; for I am sacrificing both on my behalf and on yours. Make also 25 plates, each of them 1 cubit 8 fingerbreadths in diameter, to be given to the banqueters as at the festival of Hermes. I have sent you the measurement of the plates, for they say here that they will not be able to make them of such a size, though at present they are being compelled to supply a couple. Farewell. (Addressed) to Zenon.'

3. Zenon's friend Panacestor had a son called Zenon (P. Cairo Zen. 59244), who may possibly be the person spoken of.

4. Aphthonetus was a strategus of high rank, exercising authority in the Arsinoite nome, and possibly in other nomes as well.

10. The *τ* of *τήν* is written over an *σ*. The word *δοχή* might mean the entertainment of the guests in general

or the reception of a distinguished visitor. From an unpublished papyrus in the British Museum Rostovtzeff has conjectured that on one occasion Philinus gave a banquet to the king, but the evidence is rather meagre.

13. The date suggests that, if the papyrus belongs to the reign of Euergetes, the festivity might have had some connexion with the king's birthday (cf. P. Cairo Zen. 59358).

31. The words are ambiguous, and I do not know exactly what Philinus meant. *δύο* might be either the object (plates) or the subject (persons).

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569. PETITION TO ZENON FROM PATUMIS

12·5×17·5 cm. Undated.
[P. Ryl. Zen. 16 = SB. 7652]

The petitioner, who was an *ἰσιονόμος*, writes about certain cattle which he had delivered to Zenon as a *παρακαταθήκη*. They nominally belonged to Isis and Osiris, but actually he used them as his own property. From the emphasis which Patumis lays on Zenon's protection and from his offer of a cow I suspect that he had been in trouble, perhaps in prison, and that the *παρακαταθήκη* was an expedient, advantageous to both parties, for the purpose of safeguarding the cattle. It appears from P. Cairo Zen. 59491 that on one occasion Patumis was brought before Zenon on a charge of robbery, but we are not told of the sequel.

[Ζήνωνι χαίρε]ιν Πατῦμις Ἁραπάκτιος ἰσιονό-
[μος. ἐπίστη]ι διότι παρακαταθήκην δέδω-
[κα τὰς βο]ῦς τῆς Ἴσεως καὶ Ὀσίρεως. καλῶς οὖν
[ποιήσει]ς, εἰ καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖ, ἣν ἄν σοι δοκῇ βοῦς
[ἐκ τούτ]ων λαβεῖν, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἀποδοῦναι
[ὅπως ἃ]ν ἔχω τὸμ βίον ἐξ αὐτῶν. ἐσκέπασες
[ἡμᾶς κ]αὶ ἀρχῆς, ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν οὐδεὶς ἡμᾶς
[μὴ σκε]πάσῃ ἀλλ᾽ ἢ σὺ οὕνεκεν τῆς Ἴσεως.
[οὐδενὶ γ]ὰρ ἂν ἐπίστευσα ἀλλ᾽ ἢ σοὶ ἵνα σκεπά-
[σῃς ἡμᾶ]ς.

εὐτύχει.

'To Zenon greeting from Patumis, son of Harapaktis, steward of Isis. You know that I have given to you as a deposit the cows of Isis and Osiris. Be good enough therefore, if you too agree, to take whichever one of them you please and give me back the rest in order that I may gain my living from them. You protected us in the beginning, and now again no one but you will protect us, for the sake of Isis. For I would not have put trust in anyone but you to protect us. May you prosper.'

2. It is not clear whether the *παρακαταθήκη* in this case was a legal deposit, like P. Grenf. II. 17, or an informal trust. But Patumis seems to request the return of the cattle as a favour rather than a right.

4. Read *βοῦν*.

7. It is just possible, but not probable, that the scribe has tried to correct *ἀρχῆς* to *ἀρχήν*; *ἐ]πὶ ἀρχῆς* cannot be read.

9. *ἵνα σκεπάσῃς* = *σκεπάσαι*; so in one of the unpublished fragments in Cairo *ὡμολόγηκας εἵνα παραγένῃ*.

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570. PETITION TO ZENON

14 × 10·5 cm. Undated.
[P. Ryl. Zen. 17 = SB. 7653]

The left end of this text has been published as P. Cairo Zen. 59395. The new fragment, comprising the right end, makes the meaning a little clearer, but the missing part cannot be restored without considerable risk of misrepresenting the sense. It appears that the petitioner had been accused of complicity in a robbery, brought before a nomarch in Crocodilopolis, and detained there. He therefore asks Zenon, with whom he had apparently some engagement, to procure his release and so allow him to fulfil his obligations.

Ζήνωνι χαίρειν Ἀπο[- - -] ἀδικοῦμαι ὑπὸ τῶν φυλακιτῶν
τῶν ἐγ Κερκεσούχοις. λείας γὰ̣[ρ - - -] τ̣όποις ἀνήγαγόμ με βίαι εἰς Κροκοδίλων
πόλιν ἐπὶ Τιμόθεον τὸν νομά[ρχην - - - οὐ]κ̣ ἀπελύθην. δέομαι οὖν σου, ἐπειδὴ
βίαι ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἤχ[θη]ν̣ καὶ ὑβρ[ίσθην - - -]μ̣οι τῆς κώμης
τὴμ φυ[τείαν] ὑπαρ[χ . .] εμ̣[- - -]α̣ ὥστε δύνασθαί σοι τὰ δίκαια ποεῖν.
θέλω δέ σοι καὶ ἐμαυτ[. . .] α[- - -]ι παρέχεσθαι ὥστε σε
μηθὲν ἐγκαλεῖν, ἵνα καὶ τ[- - -]α̣ρήσωμαι. καὶ συγγράψασθαί σοι
βούλομαι περὶ τούτων καὶ σ̣[- - -]αί σοι τοὺς ἀδελφούς. εὐτύχει.

2. Perhaps *λείας γὰ[ρ εὑρεθείσης ἐν τοῖς] τόποις.*
4. After *κώμης* the surface is broken, but there is no trace of any letter.
5. *τὴμ φυ[τείαν] ὑπάρ[χειν]* is possible, though neither supplement is certain.
6. For example, *καὶ ἐμαυτ[ὸν] ἀ[νέγκλητον ἐν τῇι χρεία]ι παρέχεσθαι.*
7. *χρήσωμαι* is not impossible.

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571. ACCOUNT OF CROPS

9·5 × 15·5 cm. Undated.
[P. Ryl. Zen. 18 = SB. 7654]

Written along the fibres. The Artemidorus mentioned here was a physician in the service of Apollonius. He lived in Alexandria, accompanying his master on many of his tours and missions, but he had also a house and an allotment at Philadelphia, which his friend Zenon looked after in his absence.

Παχὼνς παρὰ Ἀρτεμιδώρου
ἰατροῦ
ῑθ̄ μήκωνος μελαί(νης) ιαϟδ′
κ Μηδικοῦ πυ(ροῦ) ιϛϟ
Παῦνι ζ̄ ὀλύρ(ας) ρα
ιζ σησάμου κα
κγ σησάμ(ου) λγ
/ πυρ(οῦ) ιϛϟ

ὀλύρ(ας) ρα
σησάμου νδ
μήκωνος `μελαί(νης)΄ ια∠δ΄

Verso τῶν Ἀρτεμιδώρου
γενημάτων.

'Pachons, from Artemidorus the physician: 19th, of black poppy seed 11¾ artabs; 20th, of Median wheat 16½. Pauni 7th, of olyra 101; 17th, of sesame 21; 23rd, of sesame 33. Total: 16½ artabs of wheat, 101 of olyra, 54 of sesame, 11¾ of black poppy seed. (Endorsed) List of the crops of Artemidorus.'

2. *ἰατροῦ* is interpolated.
4. Wheat grown from seed originally imported from Media (cf. P. Cairo Zen. 59292, 6).

III. DOCUMENTS OF THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD

572. OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE

? Arsinoite nome. Height about 32·5 cm. Second century B.C.

Written in a careless hand of the first half of the second century B.C., and containing parts of three columns of an official letter, of which the greater portion of the second column is preserved, though there is some doubt about the restoration of col. ii, ll. 14–17, where three fragments have been manipulated to make a join. The third column contains only a few lines of writing, but the signature has not been preserved. It may have stood in the bottom right-hand corner, or there may have been more succeeding columns, now lost.

The letter is probably addressed by a superior to a strategus (l. 1), perhaps of the Arsinoite nome (l. 15, note). It contains a number of instructions regarding the selection of scribes permitted to draw up demotic contracts, and fixing a standard tariff of charges. BGU. 1214, an official letter, also of the second century B.C., from the strategus Ptolemaeus of the Arsinoite nome, deals with a later stage of the same transaction, the transmission of the list of selected scribes and the tariff fixed *κατὰ τὰ ὑπὸ Πρωτάρχου τῶν φίλων δι[α]σαφηθέντα*. There are a number of verbal reminiscences between **572** and BGU. 1214 (cf. ll. 56 ff., which suggest a different restoration from that of the editors for BGU. 1214, 14 ff.), and it is tempting to think that **572** is a slovenly copy of Protarchus' original instructions. If so, it is perhaps a portion of a roll containing a dossier on the whole transaction, and not the original letter; this would explain the absence of signature, and the careless mistakes and erasures.

Schubart, *Einführung*, 302 (cf. *Amtliche Berichte aus den königl. Kunstsammlungen*, xxxvi. 94–8 (Berlin, 1914), has already drawn attention to this transaction for the light it throws on the native and social policy of the Ptolemies in the second century. It remains to notice the officials interested. On the side of the king the recipient of this letter is to consult with the *ἐπιστάτης* (i.e. the civil officer), the *ἐπιστάτης τῶν φυλακιτῶν*, the nome *οἰκόνομος*, and royal scribe; representing the natives are the *ἐπιστάται* of the temples, the *ἀρχιερεῖς* (and *ἀρχιερείαι* if l. 35 is not a mere mistake and the restoration of l. 34 is correct), and the *λαοκρίται*, Wilcken's distinction between *ἐπιστάτης* and *ἀρχιερεύς* of a temple as separate offices (UPZ. I, pp. 44–5, cf. *Grundz.* p. 111) is confirmed. This document is of value as clearly distinguishing between the three different types of office denoted by *ἐπιστάτης*.

Col. i

στρατη]γῷ χαίρειν.
] εἰσάγοντας

] ει τῷ̣ν δικασ-
[τηρίων] το̣[ὺ]ς νομοφυλά-
[κας τυγ]χάνομεν
] τον η τε
] . θωσειν
τ]οὺς ἐν τῶι
[ὑπό σε νομῷ̣ συναλλάγματ]α̣ Αἰγύπτια
[γράφοντας ἐκ γραμματοδιδασ]κ̣άλων προς
πλεῖον] τοῦ καθήκον-
[τος πράττωνται ἑκάστης] συγγραφῆς
] . . . [. .] επι . ρ̣ .
]υσαι τ̣ους
] . . ἐ̣κ Φαρβαίθων
[κώμης] . . . δω
]κ̣ου
2 lines lost
]ρ̣σιν . . [. . . . . .]
] . [. . . . .]
]θ̣ε̣τ̣ε̣ρ̣α̣ τ̣[. . . . .]
.] . τη[σα]ντος
] ἀ̣δικ̣εισθ[εὶ]ς τ̣ινας
] μενων τ̣ῶν
] ατην τ . .
] ι. καλῶς ἔχειν
. . νοι̣αι
] ἐ̣πιτ̣η̣δ̣ε̣ί̣ω̣ν
] κρινομένην

[ἵνα ἐπιτή]δειοι προχ ε ιρισεῶσ[[ε̣]]ιν καὶ
[συγκριθῶσ]ι̣ γράφειν τὰ συναλλάγματα
[ταῦτα κατὰ τὸν] τῆς χώρας νόμον, γενέσθαι
[δὲ τὸν προχει]ρισμ[ὸ]ν αὐτῶν διὰ τῶν ἐπισ-
[τάτων τῶν] ἱερῶν blank

Col. ii

Blank

καὶ τῶν ἀρχιερείων καὶ τῶν [λαοκριτῶν].

ἵνα δὲ μὴ πλῆον πρατωι τ [ται οἱ ἄν-]
θρωποι τοῦ καθήκοντος στ[ῆσαι δεῖ] τὸν
μέτριο̣ν μισθὸ̣ν ἑκάστης [συγγρα]φῆς.

καλῶς οὖν π[ο]ι[ήσ]ε̣ις συνεδρ̣[εύ]σας μετὰ
{τα} τοῦ ἐ̣πισ[τά]του καὶ τ[οῦ] ἐ̣πιστάτου
τῶ̣ν φυλακι[τω]ν καὶ οἰκον[όμ]ου καὶ τοῦ
βασιλικ[ο]ῦ γρα[μμα]τ̣έ̣ως καὶ [με]ταπεμ-
ψάμ̣[ε]νος τοὺς [ἐ]ν̣ [τ]οῖς κά̣τ̣[ω]ι τόποις
ἐπιστάτας τῶν ἱερῶν κ̣α̣[ὶ ἀρχι]ερεῖς καὶ
λαοκρ[ίτ]α[[ ]]ς καὶ ἐπιλ̣αβὼν [παρ'] αὐτῶν
γρ[α]φ̣ὴν τῶν ἐπιτ[η]δ̣είων [γράφ]ειν καὶ
ὅσ[ο]ν̣ ἱκανὸν ἴσῳ̣[ς κα]θ' ἕκασ[τον . . . .] ον

[7–8] τα πε[. . τ]οὺς ἀνθρώπους
[13–15] . . αφει [τ]ῶν ἐν
[τού]τοις ἀδικημάτων. [ἵνα] τοίνυν
τ
μὴ πλεῖον πράτ ωσ[ι . . . . .]κοτας
τῶν ὑποτεταγμένω[ν γραφίων ἑκά]στου συναλλάγματος καὶ [10]υ
ἐ[π]ιμελέστερον λάβε πα[ρ' αὐτῶν] χειρ[ο-]
γραφίαν ὅρκου βασιλικοῦ μὴ [πρά]ξειν
ι
παρευρέσει ἠτινιοῦν μη[δ' ἑτ]έρωι
του
ἐπιτρέπειν ἀπὸ τοῦ εἴδους τ[ο]ύ παρα-
. . . .
λογεῖν μήτε εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν μήτε
κατ' ἄλλον μηθένα τρόπον. οἷς ἂν συν-
τι
ιστορήσει⟨ς⟩ τοιούτοις πεπραχόσι παρα-
χρῆμα διασαφήσειν ἡμ[[ε]]ῖν καὶ ὅσ' ἂν
ι
οἰκονομήσης γράψον ἡμᾶς, εὐθέως
ε
δὲ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν προχιρισθησο-
μένων κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὑπόταξον.
τι
ζ(ητῆσον) ἵνα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἰδιῶται σσυσαντας μὴ
πλῆον τάσσονται τοῦ ὁρισμένου

Col. iii

One or two lines lost

ἱερω[ν]
ἐν αἷς [c. 10 γρ]άφησα[ν]
τὸ ὡρισμένον [τίμ]ημα
ἐὰν πλεῖον ἐπιχίρηι
τις πράττειν ἐμφανί-
ζωσ[[ε]]ιν παραχρῆμα
οἱ ἰδιῶται blank

Fragment i]νκ[
ii] . . . . [
ἐπι]στάτας [
] τῶν κ. [

31. *προχειρισθωσ.ιν*: ε after χ above line. 3rd last letter altered and probably cancelled. 36. *πραττω*: second τ above line. l. *πλεῖον* 51. Second τ of *πραττωσι* above line. 56. *ηιτινιουν*: first ι above line. 57. *τουτου*: second *του* added above line. 58. Some word above line above *λογειν*: ?τιμα 60. l. *τοιοῦτο* 62. *οικονομησης*: altered from *οικονομησεις*, and ι added above line. 66. l. *πλεῖον*, *τάσσωνται*, *ὡρισμένου* 70. *πλειον*, ει corrected from η

(i. 30 ff.) '. . . in order that there may be nominated and approved suitable persons to draw up these contracts according to the native law. The nomination is to be made by the *epistatae* of the temples and by the high-priests and the *laocritae*. In order that men may not be required to pay more than the proper sum, you should fix a reasonable fee for each contract. You will do well, therefore, to consult with the *epistates*, the chief of police, the *oeconomus* and royal scribe, and to send for the temple *epistatae*, the high priests and *laocritae* of the northern area, and to get from them a list of men suitable to draw up contracts, and to. . . . Pay particular attention to taking from them a declaration on oath by the king that they will not exact higher fees on any pretext whatever nor will they authorize any other to make extortions consequent on this tariff whether for benefit of the treasury or in any other way. If you learn of any who have acted so, you are to inform us at once. Write to us also of the steps you take, and subjoin immediately the names of those nominated according to the law. In order that private individuals shall not be required to pay more than the fixed fee . . . .'

1. *στρατη]γῷι*: another possible restoration is *ἐπιστρατη]γῷι*, i.e. of the Thebaid, supposing the text to come from the Oxyrhynchite nome, which, combined with the Cynopolite, was at this period included in the Thebaid. In that case this letter would be a general circular from a high authority. Such a restoration,

however, causes difficulties in ll. 39 ff., where the addressee is bidden consult with a number of officials, the highest of whom is a civil *ἐπιστάτης*, and from which it is most plausible to suppose the addressee is himself *στρατηγός*.

5. *νομοφυλά[κας*: known for Alexandria (P. Hal. 1, 42); Naucratis or Ptolemais, P. Lille 29, i. 33, ii. 31. There is no evidence for them in the *χώρα*.

15. *Φαρβαίθων [κώμης*: the only locality mentioned which can be certainly identified, viz. in the meris of Heracleides in the Arsinoite nome (P. Teb. II, p. 406). We are inclined to think that the Arsinoite nome is the provenance of this text; the other indications (nn. on ll. 40, 43) are reconcilable with it; and BGU. 1214 is certainly from there.

32. *τὸν τῆς χώρας νόμον*: cf. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*, vol. I, pp. 2 ff.

35. *ἀρχιερείων* is a mere blunder for *ἀρχιερέων*. The authorities responsible are the same as those enumerated in ll. 44–5.

The second column begins 5 lines farther from the upper margin than col. i, but nothing is lost. [*λαοκριτῶν*] is restored from l. 45.

36. The restoration is about two letters short, but there may have been an erasure. *πράττων[ται*: it is worthy of note that the Atticizing form *πράττω* is used throughout this document.

40. *ἐπισ[τά]του*: the civil epistates, as M. Van 't Dack reminds us, is not a 'collega minor' of the strategus, but his delegate supervising a more restricted area, e.g. a single nome in the Thebaid, or from the couplet Oxyrhynchus Cynopolis; a meris in the Arsinoite nome (for the latter, see e.g. P. Enteux. 22, 1, 11, &c.).

42. [*με*]*ταπεμψάμ*[*ε*]*νος*: or [*κα*]*ταπ.*, but the restoration adopted is more general, and involves no assumptions regarding the provenance of the text. For pointing this out, and for the following note on *τοὺς* [*ἐ*]*ν* [*τ*]*οῖς κά*[*ω*]*ι τόποις* we are again indebted to M. Van t' Dack: 'the words do not necessarily indicate an administrative district (i.e. toparchy), but may simply imply a geographical notion—"the northern areas" (cf. *οἱ ἄνω τόποι* in OGI. 111, 15–20; BGU. 1470, 1); in the Fayum, cf. Dionysodorus, archiphylacites *τῶν ἄνω τόπων*, SB. 4309, 3; the sitologus *τῆς κάτω μερίδος* (i.e. Heracleides) in P. Enteux. 27, 1, 14.

45. *ἐπιλαβὼν ..γρ*[*α*]*φὴν*: cf. UPZ. 42, 43; P. Teb. 27, 47.

47 ff. Three separate fragments meet here and it is impossible to be certain whether the reconstruction given is correct or whether an additional line should be inserted.

56 ff. The text of the *χειρογραφία ὅρκου βασιλικοῦ* given here suggests the restoration of the following in BGU. 1214, 14 ff.: *ἀπ*[*ὸ*] *τ*[*ο*]*ῦ εἴδους τού*[*του παραλο*]*γεύεειν*(?) [*οὔ*]*τε εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν ο*[*ὔ*]*τε* [*κατ' ἄλλον οὐδ*]*έν*[*α τρόπ*]*ον. οἷς δ' ἂν συνιστορή*[*σητε τοιοῦτό τι*] *πεπρακόσιν π*[*α*]*ραχρῆ*[*μα*] (infinitive).

57–8. *παραλογεῖν*: an unusual formation. Some letters are overwritten, perhaps a correction of the verbal form, or possibly *τιμᾶ*. The sense required here is usually given by the middle forms *παραλογεύομαι* or *παραλογίζομαι*. Preisigke, *WB.*, cites *παραλογεύω* from P. Petrie II. 38, b6 (= W. *Chr.* 300), but the word there is in the middle, *παραλογεύωνται* and clearly (as LSJ. take it, though their reference is wrong and should read P. Petrie 2, p. 122, not p. 126) = 'practise extortion'.

62. *γράψον*: add ⟨*πρὸς*⟩ *ἡμᾶς*.

65. The monogram in the left-hand margin is not unlike a small coronis. It is suggested that it equals *ζ*(*ητῆσον*) and refers to the incomprehensible *σσυσ\τι/αντας* (the overwritten letters might also be *π*, possibly *ν*) and that the scribe has failed to understand what he was copying. BGU. 1214, at a similar point, reads *ὅπως δὲ καὶ οἱ ἰδιῶται παρακολουθήσαντες περὶ τούτων τάσσονται* (l. *-ωνται*) *τὸ διασεσαφημένον πλῆθος*.

67. A maximum of two lines are lost at the head of this column.

68. Restore e.g. *ὑπεγρ*]*άφησα*[*ν*]? At the beginning the reading might also be *εν νοσ*[or even *εἶναι σ*[.

573. OFFICIAL LETTER

Provenance unknown. 21·5×15 cm. 10 October 231 B.C.

Letter from an official (*οἰκόνομος*?) to a subordinate (cf. use of 1st person plural). The latter, whose name ended in -ippus, had apparently received certain monies for *τιμὴ οἴνου τοῦ ἕκτης* from the farmers of the *ἀπόμοιρα* and had not transmitted these sums in full to the central authority.

The document is written on the recto, across the fibres. Assuming the height of the roll from which it was cut to have been the normal one of about 30 cm., 15 or 20 letters will have been lost in the break on the left-hand side. The writing grows more and more crowded, however, towards the foot.

ιππ]ωι χαίρειν. [γ]έγραφεν ἡμῖν Ἡλιόδωρος ὁ ἐξ οἴκου
[τῆι . . τοῦ ἐνεστῶτο]ς μηνὸς ἔχειν σε ἀπὸ τιμῆς οἴνου τοῦ ἕκτης
[παρὰ]ου τοῦ τελώνου (ταλ.) α (δρ.) οη =. ἡ δὲ τράπεζα
[ἤδη ἐδέξατο τῆι κ]ϛ΄ (?) τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς (δρ.) ρϛζ, ὥστε λοιπὰς
προστίθεταί δὴ τράπεζα
5 *[εἶναι παρά σοι (δρ.) Ἐωπα] ϝ καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν περὶ Σαραπίωνα τὸν καρπωνὴν*
[ὑπὲρ τοῦ (?)] ἀρχισωματοφύλακος μελαγγείου ἀμπελῶνος
πρόσε]τι θαυμάζομεν κατὰ ταὐτὸ συμπίπτοντος τοῦ χρόνου
[εἰ] ὑπελίπου παρὰ σαυτῶι. ἐπέστειλας γὰρ ἡμῖν
[τὰ πορθμικὰ (?) καὶ τὰ] φόρετρα καὶ τἆλλα ἀναλώματα τότε ἀπὸ τῶν
10 *]ρων καὶ νομῶν. καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις τόν τε περίοντα*
[φόρον καὶ τὸν λόγον ὅπω]ς συνῆκται διασαφήσας ἡμῖν ὅπως γράψωμεν
Διονυσίωι ἀνακομίσαι.
ἔρρωσο (ἔτους) ιζ Μεσορὴ κϛ΄

Verso (2nd hand?) *]ππωι*
above, upside down. *] χ^α ει*

6. *ἀρχισωματοφύλακος*: for another instance of this court title in mid-third century B.C., cf. W. *Chr.* 411.
10. *]ρων*: first letter is most probably *ρ*, but *δ* (i.e. *μερί]δων*) cannot be ruled out. *ι* cannot be read.
11. The restoration, which is *exempli gratia*, is suggested by P. Hibeh 69. 6–8.

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574. LETTER ON THE DRUG TAX

Provenance unknown. 9·2×13·1 cm. Late first century B.C.

This document is addressed by Ischyrion to Petosiris and his 'partners in the buriers' guild' and concerns payments for the 'tax on drugs of the Serapeum', *φόρος τοῦ φαρμάκου τοῦ Σαραπείου*. If not a letter, it may be a receipt as the otherwise abrupt beginning of l. 3 suggests. The hand is probably to be dated to Augustus, but the reign of the last Cleopatra cannot be excluded.

Ἰσχυρίων Πετ̣ο̣σίρει καὶ τοῖς
συννεκροτάφοις χαίρειν.
διαγεγράφατε [ ] τὸν φόρον
τοῦ φαρμάκου τοῦ Σαραπ̣είου
5 [ἀρ]γ̣υρίο̣υ δ̣ρ̣αχμ[ὰς] τεσ[σα]ράκοντ̣[α]
]·ν[
. . . . . .

'Ischyrion to Petosiris and his partners in the buriers' guild, greeting. You have paid as tax for drugs of the Serapeum 40 silver drachmae. . . .'

2. *συννεκροτάφοις*: the word is new. The evidence for guilds of burial workers (cf. San Nicolò, *Ägypt. Vereinswesen*, I. 98–100) is hereby carried back to the first century B.C., while the reference to *φάρμακον* clearly shows that the term *νεκροτάφος* does not exclude participation in embalming. Cf. the very interesting discussion by H. C. Youtie in *TAPA.* LXXI (1940), 650–7 on *ἐξωπυλείτης*, and ibid. 654 n. 12: 'normally a *νεκροτάφος* is occupied with transporting and burying the dead, and an *ἐνταφιαστής* with preparing the body for burial by embalming; but the functions of the various groups connected with the care of the dead are not always sharply distinguished'. Cf. also Cumont, *L'Égypte des Astrologues*, p. 140, n. 4.

3. There is a hole in the papyrus after *διαγεγράφατε* in which e.g. [*εἰς*] might be restored. But the space between *διαγεγράφατε* and *τὸν* is not greater than that between *Ἰσχυρίων* and *Πετ.* in l. 1, or *-οις* and *χαίρειν* in l. 2, and perhaps nothing is lost.

4. *φόρον τοῦ φαρμάκου*: this tax (?) and its connexion with the Serapeum is new.

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575. DECLARATION BY A FARMER OF THE TAX ON FRUIT-TREES

Arsinoite nome. 7×24·5 cm. 235 B.C.

This strip of papyrus, the verso of which is blank and which has been folded seven times horizontally, contains a declaration by Ptolemy, farmer of the tax of one-sixth on fruit-trees for the Arsinoite nome, to certain fruit-growers that he has waived this tax on their fruit-trees, but has deducted the supplementary 20 per cent., which has been paid into the royal bank. This is probably the earliest dated occurrence of the *ἕκτη τῶν ἀκροδρύων*, usually regarded as a branch of the *ἀπόμοιρα* (cf. Kühn, BGU. VI, pp. 93 ff., and most recently Cl. Préaux, *L'Économie royale des Lagides*, 179, n. 2). The supplementary 20 per cent. or *ἐπίπεμπτον* has not occurred before. Some light on it and on this declaration is to be gained by a comparison with BGU. 1311, a very similar declaration of 146 or 134 B.C., where the farmer of the tax of one-sixth on fruit-trees for the Tentyrite nome concedes (*συγχωρεῖ*) to two individuals the right to harvest and dispose of the produce of their date-palms on payment of 400 copper drachmae. If we may assume the simple *ἐπικεχωρηκέναι* of **575** has the same meaning as the fuller *τρυ(γᾶν) καὶ διατίθ(εσθαι) τοὺς καρποὺς* of BGU. 1311, and that the round figure of 400 drachmae in the latter is an *ἐπίπεμπτον*, the cases are identical. We may observe that the term *ἐπίπεμπτον* implies a prior tax demand or assessment, and that both our text and BGU. 1311 (dated in Payni), precede the gathering of the crops. Perhaps then by arranging to pay a supplementary charge (amounting to 20 per cent. of the assessment of the *ἕκτη*) before the harvest the cultivator signified his agreement with the assessment presented to him by the

tax-farmer, tacitly undertook to pay it in full after harvest and thereby earned the right to dispense with official supervision at the picking of his fruit. If this speculation is anywhere near the truth, there were two methods of avoiding supervision at the gathering of fruit crops: either by paying the assessment as soon as rendered, or by paying a supplementary charge of 20 per cent. and the main payment after disposing of the harvest. This consideration may perhaps account for the second total (cf. J. G. Milne, *JEA.* xi. 269 ff.), which appears in 5 of the 15 known receipts in ostraca for the *ἕκτη τῶν ἀκροδρύων* (BGU. 1307–9; Wilcken, *Gk. Ostr.* 1; Tait, *O. Ashmolean* 1). The second figure which always increases the amount by 20 per cent. may perhaps be regarded as including a previously paid *ἐπίπεμπτον*.

(Ἔτους) ιβ Μεσορὴ (δραχμῶν) δέκα
μιᾶς, (γίνονται) ια.

(Ἔτους) ιβ Μεσορὴ ὁμολογεῖ
Πτολεμαῖος ὁ ἐξειληφὼς
τὰ ἄκ⟨ρ⟩όδρυα τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου
εἰς τὸ ιβ (ἔτος) ἐπικεχωρη-
κέναι συνδιοικοῦντος
τοῦ τε παρ᾽ οἰκονόμου
καὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γρ(αμματέως)
Ἀγρεοφῶντι καὶ Μύστηι
ἀκ⟨ρ⟩οδρύων ὧν ἔχουσι
περὶ Φιλαδ⟨ελφ⟩είαν ἐν τῶι
πρὸς νότον καὶ ⟨τῶι πρὸς⟩ βορρᾶν
ἀμπελῶσιν τὴν (ἕκτην)
ἀφηιρημένου τοῦ
ἐπιπέμπτου (δραχμῶν) δέκα,
(γίνονται) ι, καὶ Ξενοκράτηι
ὁμοίως ὧν ἔχει
περὶ Τάνιν δραχμῆς
μιᾶς, (γίνονται) ια, ἃς δια-
γεγράφασιν ἐπὶ τὴν
βασιλικὴν τράπεζαν.

(2nd hand) Πτολεμαῖος ἐπιχωρῶ
τῶν δέκα μιᾶς, (γίνονται) ια

14 ς′, Pap.

'Year 12, Mesore, eleven drachmae, total 11.

'Year 12, Mesore. Ptolemy, farmer of the tax on fruit-trees for the Arsinoite nome for the 12th year, agrees that, with the concurrence of the oeconomus' representative and the royal scribe, he has waived payment to Agreophon and Mustes of the tax of one-sixth on fruit-trees which they possess near Philadelphia in the southern vineyard and the northern vineyard, with deduction of the extra 20 per cent., 10 drachmae, total 10, and to Xenocrates likewise for his fruit-trees near Tanis, with deduction of 1 drachma, total 1, which they have paid into the royal bank.

'I, Ptolemy, waive payment for 11 drachmae, total 11.'

4. *ἐξειληφώς*: cf. BGU. 1310, 1; 1311, 1.

10. *Ἀγρεοφῶντι*: a name rare in papyri, found only in PSI. 491, 1 (agent or of the family of Zenon?) and as name of the father of the famous Zenon, who came from Caunus. On the Lycian and east Carian provenance of the name cf. Robert, *Études Anatoliennes*, 486; *JRS.* XXX, 24 and 27. The appearance of the name together with the mention of Philadelphia raises a suspicion that this papyrus may have originated in the Zenon archive in spite of its late date.

11. *ἀκροδρύων . . . ἐν ἀμπελῶσι*: a further testimony to the system of mixed cultivation, orchard and vineyard combined.

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576. CERTIFICATES OF UNLOADING OF RIVER BOATS IN ALEXANDRIA

Provenance unknown. 5×22·5 cm. Third century B.C. (Euergetes).

This strip of papyrus, not complete at the top (cf. note on l. 1), contains two certificates given by persons responsible for the cargo of various Nile boats that they had discharged it in Alexandria. They are summary in form, can never have served as commercial or official bills of unloading, and signify no more than the fulfilment of responsibilities. It seems not unreasonable to conjecture that they were made out to local officials by the persons concerned on their return (whether by boat or overland) to the sailing ports up the Nile, for this papyrus must have been found in the *chora*. No details of cargo are given, though it is tempting to connect the certificates with the state transport of corn (for the latest treatment of which and references see H. Zilliacus, 'Neue Ptolemäertexte zum Korntransport', &c., *Aegyptus*, 1939, 59 ff.; E. Börner, *Der staatliche Korntransport im gr.-röm. Aegypten*, Hamburg, 1939). The hand of the first certificate is a practised cursive of the last third of the third century B.C., the second is written in regular but laboriously formed capitals.

. . . .

(1st hand) ἐπίπλους Κλέαρ-
χος φυλακίτης
ἣν ἐξεκενώσα-
μεν πρὸς τῶι
ἐν Ῥακώτει
Σαραπιείωι.

(2nd hand) [[.]]η Βερενίκης
φασήλιον ἀγω-
γῆς διακοσίων
ἐφ' ᾗ Ἡρακλ(ε)ίδης
ναύκλειρος. Δωσι-
θέου καὶ Διονυσί-
ου κερκουροσκά-
φη ἀγωγὴ διακο-
σίων ἐφ ἧς Ἀχιλ-
λεὺ κυβερνήτης,

ἐκκένωσις εἰς
τὸν Σιμαρίστου
κῆπον.

11. l. *ναύκληρος* 14. l. *ἀγωγῆς* 16. l. *Ἀχιλλεὺς*

'. . . Clearchus, supercargo and guard, which we discharged at the Serapeum in Rhacotis.

'Berenice's barge, carrying capacity 200, Heraclides master on board; lighter of Dositheus and Dionysius, carrying capacity 200, Achilleus pilot on board. Discharge at the garden of Simaristos.'

1. The papyrus is cut clean along the top (perhaps trimmed in antiquity for use as scrap paper?), but nearness of writing to the edge and the sense make it certain that some lines are lost, containing, presumably, a description of the boat concerned (e.g. *κερκουροσκάφη* to explain *ἣν* l. 3), owner, capacity.

For an *ἐπίπλους* who is also *φυλακίτης* cf. P. Teb. 1035, 1–2 and for *ἐπίπλοι* in general in the Ptolemaic period P. Teb. 701, 214; P. Cairo Zen. 59389. Some details of their duties in connexion with corn shipments to Alexandria are to be found in BGU. 1742 and 1743, and much more clearly in the new text of the same type published by Zilliacus in *Aegyptus*, loc. cit., esp. p. 68, where a clear distinction is made between the hand-picked *φυλακίται* embarked and the [*περὶ τὴν*] *διοίκησιν μαχαιροφόροι καὶ ἐπίπλοι*.

4 ff. *τῶι ἐν Ῥακώτει Σαραπιείωι*: the famous Serapeum of Alexandria (cf. Calderini, *Dizionario geografico*, I, 140 f.), in the district of Rhacotis, lay not far from the navigable canal connecting Lake Mareotis and the harbour of Eunostus, Strabo XVII c. 795, 1, 10.

7. *η* could be a number, i.e. No. 8 of a series of certificates. More probably it is a definite article with *φασήλιον*, cf. *ἐφ' ᾗ* in l. 10. The writer was thinking of e.g. *σκάφη* or *κερκουροσκάφη* (or is it unconscious testimony to the age-old femininity of ships?).

Βερενίκη is almost certainly the reigning queen (cf. the queen's ships in P. Lille 22, 23; P. Teb. 1034, 1035; C. Préaux, *Économie royale des Lagides*, 344). If so, she will be the famous Berenice, consort of Euergetes.

φασήλιον: apparently not previously attested in sense of 'ship', but such a sense is perfectly natural for a diminutive of the well-known *phaselus* (discussed by Torr, *Ancient Ships*, 120–1).

13. *κερκουροσκάφη*: cf. P. Lille 22, 5; 23, 5; P. Teb. 1035, 5; M. Merzagora, *Aegyptus*, 1929, 130.

18. *τὸν Σιμαρίστου κῆπον*: presumably in Alexandria. Cf. Strabo, loc. cit., *ἔξω μὲν οὖν τῆς διώρυγος* (connecting Eunostus and Lake Mareotis) *μικρὸν ἔτι λείπεται τῆς πόλεως· εἶθ' ἡ Νεκρόπολις καὶ τὸ προαστεῖον, ἐν ᾧ κῆποί τε πολλοί κτλ.* This adds one more to the references to the enigmatical *Σιμάριστος*. Cf. *Revenue Laws* 24, 9 and Appendix II. 1; P. Petrie III. 40 b I, 1; BGU. 1227–9, *ἡ πρότερον οὖσα Σιμαρίστου διοίκησις* (apparently in Oxyrhynchite nome, perhaps hints at Oxyrhynchus as provenance of present text); P. Cairo Zen. 59368, 14 *ἐν τοῖς. Σιμαρίστου.*

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577. PETITION TO THE STRATEGUS FROM AN EMBALMER

Arsinoite nome. 10·5×31 cm. 146 or 135 B.C.

Petition to the strategus, presumably of the Arsinoite nome, from a *ταριχευτής* of the Labyrinth. The petitioner requests intervention against a woman and her son who refused to await a proper judicial investigation regarding claims to property, due to be conducted before the official supervisor of the temple, and were alleged to be inducing busybody friends to take up the case contrary to a published royal decree. The stolistae of the Labyrinth, the famous temple of Amenhet III near Hawara (see Kees in RE., s.v.) appear in SB. 5216 = Hunt and Edgar, *Select Papyri*, I. 104, and also PSI. 857 as reinterpreted by C. C. Edgar in *Archiv*, XIII. 76–7. In discussing the latter text Edgar conjectures that the stolistae 'who formed a corporation with priests of their own, were the custodians of corpses brought to the

cemetery and superintended the mummification', while the *ταριχευταί*, who did the actual work of embalming, were subordinate to them; and he supposes that three persons mentioned in the text of PSI. 857 were *ταριχευταί* at Hawara. One of these three persons is named *Ἁρμάις Μαρεσισούχου*, and it is tempting to identify him with the *Ἁρμάις* who is father of the petitioner (also a *ταριχευτής* at Hawara) in **577**. It is even possible that the disputed *ἐμποίησις ὑπαρχόντων* is the control of the *θεράπεια* mentioned in the Italian papyrus. Judging from a photograph kindly supplied by Prof. N. Terzaghi and V. Bartoletti, we should place PSI. 857 early in the second century, and date it ('year 10' is mentioned) to either 196/5 or 172/1 B.C. If 172/1 B.C. could be regarded as the date, the identification here proposed might be regarded as certain.

Ἀσκληπιάδ[ηι] *συγγενεῖ καὶ στρατηγῶι*
παρὰ Π[*ρωτομά*]*χου τοῦ* Ἁρμαῖος *ταριχ*[*ευ-*]
τοῦ τῶν ἐ[*κ*] *τοῦ Λαβυρίνθου. ἐνεστ*[*ώ-*]
σης μοι διακρίσεως ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐφ' ἡ[*μῶν*]
τεταγμένου πρὸς Φιλουμένη[*ν καὶ*]
τὸν ταύτης υἱὸν Μάρωνα [*περὶ*]
ἐμποιήσεως ὑπαρχόντων, τῆς
τούτων κρατήσεως περί τε ἐμ[*ὲ*] *καὶ*
τὴν γυναῖκα μου Θερμ[*ο*]*ῦθιν οὔσης,*
ὑπὸ δὲ τούτων κακὰ περικτώμενο[*ι*]
ἀεὶ ποτε παραλαμβανόντων ἐργ[*ο-*]
λάβους καὶ ἑτέρου⟨*ς*⟩ *παρὰ τὸ ἐκ*[*ε*]*ί-*
μεν⟨*ον*⟩ *πρόσταγμα· Διὸ ἀξιῶι*
συντάξα[*ι γρά*]*ψαι τῶι ἐπιστ*[*άτ*]*ηι*
καταστῆσ[*α*]*ι ἐπί σε τοὺς συ*[*να-*]
γορευομένους ἐργολάβους [*ἵ*]*ν*[*α*]
τύχω τῶν δικαί[*ω*]*ν, αὐ*[*τοὶ δὲ*]
τῆς ἐκξακλουθούσης ἀπὸ τοῦ προ[*σ-*]
τάγματος εὐθύνης.
(2nd hand) *εὐτύχει*
(3rd hand) *τῶι ἐπιστάτηι*
καταστῆσαι (*ἔτους*) λε Μεχὶρ ιθ

12–13. l. *ἐκκειμένον, ἀξιῶ* 18. l. *ἐξακολουθούσης*

'To Asclepiades, king's cousin and strategus from Protomachus son of Harmais, embalmer of the Labyrinth. An investigation is pending at my instance before the officer appointed over us against Philoumene and her son Maron concerning a claim to property, possession of which rests with me and my wife Thermouthis; and we are picking up trouble from these two who are forever calling busybodies into consultation, and others too contrary to the published ordinance. Therefore I request you to give orders to write to the epistates to summon the case-hunting busybodies into your presence that I may obtain my just rights and they the penalty consequent on the ordinance. Farewell.'

(Docketed) 'To the epistates: Summon them. Year 35 Mecheir 19.'

1. *Ἀσκληπιάδ[ηι] συγγενεῖ καὶ στρατηγῶι*: if the 35th year of l. 22 is 146 or 135 B.C., this officer has not previously been recorded. He is presumably *στρατηγός* of the Arsinoite nome.

4. *τοῦ ἐφ' ἡ[μῶν] τεταγμένου*: presumably the *ἐπιστάτης* of the Labyrinth. Possibly *ἐφ' ἱ[ερῶν]* should be read, cf. *Revenue Laws*, 51, 9 *οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τεταγμένοι*.

7. *ἐμποιήσεως*: cited in this sense by LSJ. from BGU. 94, 14.

10. *περικτώμενοι*: a slang or provincial expression. Not in Preisigke, *WB.*, but cited by LSJ. from Josephus, *Antiq.* 13, 16, 6 and Vettius Valens 41, 10.

11. *ἐργολάβους*: cf. *infra* 15–16, and Themistius, *Orat.* 21, 260 b *ἐργόλαβοι δικῶν*. *ἐργολαβέω*, properly to 'contract for' develops through the meaning of 'profiteer' to that of 'victimize' or 'wrongfully extort'. Both these senses appear in P. Mich. 425, 13 and 19 (see notes ad loc.), and cf. Knudtzon's remarks, *Bacchiastexte* I, ll. 26 and 30. The mischief-making advocates concerned are probably the same as those alluded to in P. Amh. 33 as *τοὺς προσπορευομένους συνηγόρους*.

12–13. *ἐκ[ϵ]ίμεν⟨ον⟩* seems the best solution of this passage. For the single *κ* compare P. Teb. 5, 205 *ἐκείμενα προστάγματα*, and for the phrase cf. also P. Lond. III. 1200, p. 12, l. 8.

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578. PETITION OF A JEW

Arsinoite nome. 17·5×12 cm. About 58 B.C.

An extract from a register of numbered petitions. The petitioner, a Jew named Judas, is cultivator of 3 acres of dry ground near Philadelphia, for which he pays in addition to the ordinary rent a special fee (*ἐκλογή*). This particular type of abuse is among those forbidden in the edicts of Euergetes II in 118 B.C. Judas does not here object in principle to the payment of this special fee, but he protests against the action of the village scribe in raising the amount of it, and appeals to the *ἐπιμελητής* for redress. The petition is written in a bold, square, careful uncial hand to be dated in the first century B.C. The '23rd year' which is referred to can only be 92–91 or 59–58 B.C. and the appearance of the hand is in favour of the later date. The papyrus has been strengthened on the verso by strips already written over on both sides, and an address on the verso *Πετεαψενήσει* probably has no connexion with the writing of the recto.

⟦*κη*⟧ *κθ*
Ζωπύρωι ἐπιμελητῆι παρὰ
Ἰούδου τοῦ Δωσιθέου Ἰουδαίου· γεωργ-
οῦντός μου περὶ Φιλαδελφείαν
χέρσου (ἀρούρας) γ τῶν προυπαρχόντων
ἐκφορίων καθ' ἔτος τὴν (ἀρουρῶν) ἐκλογὴν
πυρῶν (ἀρτάβας) δ, ἣν καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς
κακοπαθίας καὶ δαπάνης κατειργασμένου
τά τε ἐκφόρια καθ' ἔτος ἀνεγκλήτως
ἀπευτακτηκότος μεχρὶ τοῦ κγ (ἔτους),
νυνὶ Μαρρῆς ὁ κωμογραμματ̣ε̣ὺ̣ς
παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον ἀναγέγραφέν με
πλεῖον τῶν ἐκφορίων ἑκάσ⟦ο⟧της (ἀρούρας)
(πυρῶν ἀρτάβας) ϵβ′, καθόλου μὴ {τε}τετελε-
κότος μου· διὸ προσδεόμενος

τῆς σῆς φιλανθρωπίας ἀξιῶ,
ἐὰν φαίνηται, γράψαι ὧι καθήκε̣[ι]
ἀνενέγκαι σοι τὰ τῆς ἀκριβεί[ας]
ὅπως ἐὰν ἦι οἷα γράφῳ προνοήθῃς
ὡς οὐθὲν̣ π̣αρὰ τ̣ὸ δέον π̣ραχθήσομαι,
[αὐτὸς δ]ὲ τύχω τοῦ δικαίου.
Broken E[ὐτύχει
·[

4. ⸢ (so in ll. 5, 12) 5. l. κατ' ἔτος 6. ⸢ (so l. 13 ⸢) 8. l. κατ' ἔτος

'29. To Zopyrus, epimeletes, from Judas son of Dositheus, Jew. I am farmer of 3 arourae of dry ground near Philadelphia at the preexisting rental and an annual special fee of 4 artabae of wheat per aroura. This I have effected with great distress and expense, and have completed the annual payments for rent satisfactorily up to the 23rd year. But now Marres the village scribe has entered me, contrary to what is right, for the amount of 5½ artabae of wheat per aroura over and above the amount of the rent, though I have never paid this sum. Therefore I appeal to your clemency and request you, if you will, to write to the proper authority for accurate details to be submitted to you, so that if the facts are as I state them, you may take care that I do not have to pay any improper exaction, and I myself may obtain my just rights. Farewell.'

4. The form of the aroura sign is unusual.

5. The syntax of this line is confused. It is clear from ἣν in l. 6 and τά τε ἐκφόρια in l. 8 that Judas had to meet two different charges. ἐκλογή is illuminated by the ban in P. Teb. 5, 166 (118 B.C.) on officials τὴν ἐν ἀρετῆι κειμένην βασιλικὴν γῆν παραιρεῖσθαι τῶν γεωργῶν μηδὲ ἐπὶ ἐγλογῆι γεωργεῖν. Grenfell and Hunt translate the latter phrase 'cultivate it at choice'. Our present text gives ἐκλογή the more sinister meaning of special exaction, which is probably how P. Teb. 5, 166 should also be rendered ('on condition of a special fee'). The accusative ἐκλογήν is perhaps due to the intention, afterwards modified, to construct it as object of the main finite verb of the petition. Before ἐκλογήν the aroura sign can be traced—possibly erased by the original scribe. For clarity he should have written τὴν (ὑπὲρ) ἑκάστης ἀρούρας ἐκλογήν.

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579. PETITION TO THE STRATEGUS

Oxyrhynchite nome (?). 11 × 14·5 cm. First century B.C.

Petition to the strategus from Ecleides, son of Nicias, who wishes to demolish and rebuild a wall on his property, and fears he may be prevented by his brothers, co-heirs of his father's property. The hand is a well-written medium cursive of the last century B.C. If the restoration in l. 3 is correct (see note ad loc.), the document is from Oxyrhynchus.

Σα̣ραπίωνι συγγε̣νεῖ καὶ στρατηγῶι
παρ' Ἠκλείδ̣[ου το]ῦ̣ Νικίου τῶν ἐκ
κ̣ώμης Ψ[ωβθέ]ω̣ς τῆς μέσης το-
[π]α̣ρχίας. ὑπ̣[αρχ]όντων ἐμοί τε καὶ
τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς [πα]τρικῶν τόπων
ἐν τῆι προκειμ̣έ̣νηι κώμηι καὶ
τούτων διει̣ρ̣η̣μένων πρὸς ἑαυ-

τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις
καθ' ἣν τεθείμεθα πρὸς ἀλλή-
λους διαίρεσιν ἀποδιεσταλμένου
ἑκάστωι τὸν αἱροῦντα πηχισμὸν,
νυνὶ δὲ βουλόμενος ἐν τοῖς ἐπιβεβλη-
κόσι μοι μέρεσι τεῖχος καθελεῖν καὶ
ἀνοικοδομῆσαι, ὑποπτευόμενος
δὲ μή ποτε παραστήσαντός μου
τὰ πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα διακωλυθῶ,
ἀξιῶι ἐὰν φαίνηται συντάξαι
γράψαι τῶι τῆς [κώμ]ης [ἐπιστάτηι]
μὴ . . [
Broken off

7. l. *διῃρημένων* 11. l. *τοῦ αἱροῦντος πηχισμοῦ* 15. l. *παραστήσας ἐγώ* 17. l. *ἀξιῶ*

'To Sarapion king's cousin and strategus from Ecleides son of Nicias of the village of Psobthis of the middle toparchy.

'In the aforesaid village my brothers and I possess hereditary real estate which was divided up between us some time ago according to the agreement for division which we made with each other, each one being assigned his due area. Now I wish to demolish and rebuild a wall on the portions assigned to me, but suspect that when I bring on the scene the materials for the job I may be prevented. Therefore I request you, if you approve, to give orders to write to the . . .'

1. *Σαραπίωνι συγγενεῖ καὶ στρατηγῶι*: not previously recorded, if this document is from the Oxyrhynchite nome. Henne, *Stratèges*, p. 21 and Suppl. p. 14, records (from UPZ. 117) a *Σαραπίων συγγένης καὶ στρατηγὸς καὶ ὑποδιοικητής* for the Memphite nome, date either 147 or 89 B.C.

2. *Ἡκλείδ[ου*: for *Εὐκλείδης*, cf. SB. I. 4206, 149.

3. *Ψ[ωβθέ]ως τῆς μέσης το[π]αρχίας*: for *Ψῶβθις* as a village of the *μέση τοπαρχία* of the Oxyrhynchite nome, cf. e.g. P. Oxy. 1285, 115.

7–8. *ἑαυτοὺς* = *ἡμᾶς αὐτούς*, cf. Mayser, *Grammatik*[1], I, p. 303.

10. *ἀποδιεσταλμένου*: cf. note on P. Teb. 740, 30 and LSJ., addenda; P. Merton 5, 14.

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580. ASSIGNMENT OF BURIAL BENEFIT

8·5×21·4 cm. First century B.C.

PLATE 2

In form this text, which to the best of our knowledge is unique both in content and type, is a double document. The first three lines comprise the inner text; then after a considerable space follows the outer text (ll. 4–9) in a hand that for elegance and legibility contrasts with that of the first three lines, though the same man may have written both; then come the signatures of the president and secretary of the club as witnesses to the document. The papyrus has been folded ten times, and the clean break down the centre whereby about half of each line has been lost is probably the consequence (as Mr. T. C. Skeat has pointed out to us)[1]

[1] We have to thank Mr. Skeat for several suggestions on this text, and in particular for referring us to P. Mich. Inv. 6051; cf. also note to l. 3.

of a vertical fold. On the verso of this missing half would have come the signatures and seals of the witnesses; the verso of the surviving piece is blank.

The text has been drawn up by or on behalf of one Heracleides, a member of a soldiers' club, and by it he bequeathes (or, as the document is not drawn up in testamentary form, we should perhaps say 'assigns in the event of his death'; *καταλείπω* can only bear one meaning whatever the form of the document) his *ταφικόν* or burial benefit (see note to l. 1) to which he is entitled as a member of the club, of the value of 100 drachmae. But what is more remarkable than that such a benefit should have been transferable during the lifetime of the member is that no assignee is named, and it is clear from ll. 2 and 9 that this is not because the name of the beneficiary has been lost in the missing portion. In other words, the assignment is negotiable; payment would be made to whoever presented the document without (as far as we can tell in the state of the text) any time-limit. To this procedure there is a parallel in the remarkable loan of 74 B.C. (P. Mich. Inv. 6051 = SB. 7532) published by A. E. R. Boak in *Aegyptus*, XIII (1933), p. 107; here the space where the name of the creditor would be expected is left blank both in the inner and the outer texts, and the only explanation is that of the editor, that it was intended to be negotiable.[1] It is just possible that the purpose of our document was a little more limited and that Heracleides was bequeathing his benefit to the club (see note to l. 5) through its officers and that, as the officers changed each year, it was made payable to any officer of the club who presented it. This, however, would be a cumbrous procedure, is not supported by the wording of ll. 2 and 9, and could not have been fully stated in the available space.

The hand is of a late Ptolemaic type, and the 'third year' of l. 4 is most probably that of Auletes (78 B.C.).[2] The only other possibilities, both less likely on palaeographical grounds, are 49 B.C. (the third year of Cleopatra), or the third year of Augustus (27 B.C.); but we should not expect to find a club of 'fellow soldiers' (not veterans), all bearing Greek names, still in existence then.

σύμβολ(ον) ταφικ(οῦ) (ἔτους) γ Μεσορὴ ιε̄ Ἡρακλεί̣[δης . . . . . δραχμὰς]
ἑκατόν (γιν.) (δράχμαι) ρ τῶι τὸ σύμβολον . [
τυχίας κ̄ς̄ σημεί(ου) δὲ κ̄α̣

(2nd hand) *ἔτους γ Μεσορὴ ιε̄ Ἡρ[ακλείδης*
Καταλείπω τὸ γινόμενο̣[ν μοὶ ταφικὸν
συνόδου τῶν συστρατιω̣τ̣[ῶν
ἧς προστάτης Ἐπιφανὴς Η̣[
ὃ ἐστὶν ἀργυρίου (δραχμαὶ) ἑ[κατὸν
σύμβολον ἐπιφερον̣τ̣ [

(3rd hand) *Ἐπ̣ιφ̣ανὴς π̣ρ̣ο̣σ̣τ̣[άτης*
Ἀπίων γραμματεὺς ἐπηκολ̣ο̣ύ̣θ̣[ησα

[1] Wilcken, in reviewing Boak's article in *Archiv* XI (1935), p. 125, showed himself reluctant to accept this explanation, and suggested that the creditor was the second signatory (read by Wilcken as *Δημέ̣ου*) although the inner text (opened by Boak at his request) showed that the space for the creditor's name was left blank there as in the outer text, which may be reasonably held to support Boak's interpretation.

[2] The probable date is therefore 22 August 78 B.C.

1. *σύμβολον*: here denoting *warrant, authorization of payment.*

ταφικ(οῦ): the meaning of the word in this kind of context is clear from P. Ent. 20 and 21, complaints that the *thiasos* has not paid the burial benefit due to the petitioners (where see the editor's admirable commentary and notes). That the club contributed to the funeral expenses of its members does not mean that it was a burial society; it was a common function of such associations (see in addition to P. Ent. 20 and 21 the introductions to P. Mich. 243 and 244).

2. *ἐ[πιφέροντι* cannot be read at the end of the line; the letter looks most like a *φ* or *ο*, though a *τ* (e.g. *τ[οῦτο*) is possible.

3. Nothing surviving in the outer text corresponds to this line. The numbers are clearly ordinals, not cardinals as the line above (contrast *ρ* in l. 2) indicates; beyond this it is difficult to be certain of anything. The writing is very cursive here, but either *τυχιας* or less likely *τυχης* seems certain. Mr. Skeat's suggestion that this is a description of the military units to which Heracleides and his fellow members belonged is attractive, but though *σημεῖον* is used of such a unit in P. Amh. II. 39, 2 (*σημέα* is more frequent and might be read here; but in this type of hand *ει* is to be preferred as a reading to *ε* with a sign of abbreviation) no supplement can be found for the preceding word in the vocabulary of Ptolemaic military organization. It is tempting to read *ἑκατον]ταρχίας* but to do so would be to strain the writing too far (compare the relevant letters in l. 1, in particular the *τ*, *α*, and *ρ*). That it refers to some system of registration is much less likely; the problem of the supplement remains and it is improbable that a document so amateurishly drafted should be so elaborately filed. The *δέ* provides a further difficulty, as this should contrast the nouns or clauses which it relates.

5. The line might be tentatively finished with *ἀπὸ* or *παρὰ*, or, on the unlikely assumption that the sum is being bequeathed to the club, *τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ. γενησόμενον* might be expected in place of *γι(γ)νόμενον*. For the supplement, cf. P. Ent. 20, 5: *τὸ γινόμενον αὐτῶι ταφικόν.*

6. A corporation of *συνστρατιῶται* is known in Thebes in 88 B.C.: see W. *Ostr.* 1535 re-edited in the introduction to P. Ross.-Georg. II. 10, and for other instances see P. Tebt. III. 793, iv. 22 note and BGU. VIII. 1824 and 1830 (the last two of the first century B.C.). Our club may be compared with the *συνόδου ρ′μ′γ′ τῶν . . . . περὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς μαχαιροφόρων* (also in the reign of Ptolemy Auletes) of BGU. 1190; this *synodos* too is served by a *prostates* and a *grammateus.*

This line may have been completed by the details of the unit given in l. 3.

8. Perhaps to be completed by *ἀποδοθησόμενον τῶι τὸ vel sim.*

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581. SALE OF DOVECOT AND UNCULTIVATED LAND

Pathyris (Gebelên). Fragm. i, 5·5×12·5 cm.; Fragm. ii, 29×15·5 cm. 1 April 121 B.C.

Sale by Isidore son of Theon to Horus son of Nechouthes of a dovecot and attached uncultivated land. The purchaser Horus is well known from a number of other documents (see especially P. Adler, introduction, pp. 3 and 4 n. 1), and P. Adler G. 11 shows him at a later date interested in another dovecot adjacent to his house and purchasing a share in it.

The present document is broken on the right of col. ii, and three fragments published as P. Mil. I. 2, Nos. C, D, E form part of it, and are shown underlined in the text.[1] Fragment E begins just after the fracture in **581** and runs down from ll. 1–7; fragment C, a little farther to the right, runs from ll. 2–7 (but in l. 2 some sort of erasure or correction must be assumed, if the fragment is to fit); fragment D has parts of ll. 8–12 perpendicularly below fragment E.

The present text appears to be a (later?) copy of the original sale. The date in col. ii, l. 2 is

[1] The identification is due to F. M. Heichelheim (cf. note on P. Adler G. 7) and was confirmed by him on inquiry from Professor A. Calderini.

added above the line. In neither col. i or ii, contrary to the analogy of the other sales in the Adler papyri, is the purchase price stated.

Col. i

(ἔτους) μθ Φαμενὼθ ι̣[α]
Ἀπέδοτο Ἰσίδωρο[ς]
Θέωνος ὃς καὶ Φαῆ(σις)
Τεῶτος τὸ ὑπά[ρ(χον)]
αὐτῶι περι̣στερῶ(να) κ[αὶ]
τοὺς πρόσοντα̣ς ψι̣-
{ψι}λοὺς τόπο[υς] τοῦ
ὄντος ἐν τ[ῶι] ἀπὸ̣
βορρᾶ καὶ λιβ[ὸς] μ̣έ̣ρ̣[ει]
Παθύ(ρεως). Ἐπρίατο Ὧρ[ος]
Νεχούθου

4. l. *τὸν ὑπάρχοντα*, cf. col. ii, l. 7. 7–8. l. *τοὺς ὄντας*, cf. ii, l. 8.

Col. ii (2nd hand)

[Βασιλεύο]ντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Εὐεργέτου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου κ[αὶ] Κλεοπάτρας θεῶν Ἐπιφανῶν καὶ βασιλίσης Κ̣λεοπ[άτρα]ς τῆ̣[ς ἀδελφῆς καὶ βασιλίσης Κλεοπά-]

[τρ]α̣ς τῆς γυναῖκος θεῶν Εὐεργετίδων ἔτους μθ ἐφ' ἱερέως τοῦ ὄν[το]ς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρεία[ι] Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν Σωτήρω[ν] καὶ θ̣[εῶν . . . . .] Ἀ̣δ[ελφῶν καὶ θεῶν Εὐεργε-]

[τῶ]ν̣ καὶ θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων καὶ θεῶν Ἐπιφανῶν καὶ θε[οῦ] Εὐπάτορος καὶ θεοῦ Φιλομήτορος καὶ θεῶν Εὐεργετῶ[ν, ἀ]θ̣λοφόρ̣[ου Βερενί]κη̣[ς Εὐεργετίδος κανηφό-]

[ρου] Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου ἱερείας Ἀρσινόης Φιλοπάτορος τῶν [ὄν]των ⟨καὶ οὐσῶν⟩ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι, ἐν δὲ Πτολεμαΐδι τῆς Θη[βαΐ]δος ἐ̣[φ' ἱερέων καὶ ἱ]ε̣[ρειῶν καὶ κανη-]

[φ]όρου τῶν ὄντων καὶ οὐσῶν ἐν Πτολεμαΐδι τῆς Θηβ[αΐ]δος, μηνὸς Φαμενὼθ ιᾱ, ἐν Κροκοδίλων πόλει ἐφ' Ἡλιο[δώρου ἀγορ]α̣νό̣[μου τοῦ περὶ Θήβας.]

Ἀ̣πέδοτο Ἰσίδωρος Θέωνος ὃς καὶ Φαῆσις Τεῶτος Πέ̣[ρ]σης τῶν ἐκ Κροκοδίλων πόλεως μ[ι]σ̣θοφόρων ἱ̣ππέ̣[ων . . . . . Π]α̣θυ̣[ρ

ὡς (ἐτῶν) ν μέσος μελίχρως κλαστὸς μακροπρόσωπο̣[ς εὐθύ]ριν ὑποχ[α]ρ̣ο̣[π]ὸς τὸ ὑπάρχον αὐ̣τ̣ῷι περι̣σ̣τ̣ε̣[ρ]ῶ̣ν̣[α

γ[ε]γονισμένον κοχλιῶν δεκαδύο καὶ τοὺς προσόν̣[τ]α̣ς ψιλοὺς τό̣π̣[ο]υς τοῦ ὄντος ἐν τ[ῆ]ι ταμ̣[νίαι] καὶ λι[βὸς]

μέρει Παθύρεως ὧν γείτονες νό[το]υ οἰκίαι Ὤρου τοῦ ὠ̣νουμένου, βορρᾶ κ[α]ὶ ἀπηλιώτου κ[αὶ] λιβὸς [ῥυμὴ] βασιλ[ικὴ]

ἢ οἳ ἂν ὦσι γείτονες πάντοθεν. ἐπ̣ρίατο Ὧρος Νεχ[ού]θου Πέρσης ὡς (ἐτῶν) λε μέσος μελίχρ̣ως ἀν[αφάλα]κ̣ρος μ̣[ακρο-]

πρόσωπος εὐθύριν ὡς ἀριστερὸν τετρημένον. προ[π]ωλητὴς καὶ βεβαιωτὴς τῶν κατ[ὰ τὴν ὠνὴν τ]α̣ύ̣τ̣η̣[ν πάντων]

Ἰσίδωρος ὃς καὶ Φαῆσις ὁ ἀποδόμενος ὃν ἐδέξατο Ὧ[ρο]ς ὁ πριάμενος. Ἡλιόδω(ρος) κεχρη(μάτικα).

8. l. τοὺς ὄντας

'Year 49, Phamenoth 11. Sale by Isidorus son of Theon, also called Phaesis son of Teôs, of the dovecot and attached uncultivated lands belonging to him situated in the northern and western part of Pathyris. Purchased by Horus son of Nechouthes.

'In the 49th year of Ptolemy Euergetes, son of Ptolemy and Cleopatra gods Epiphaneis, and of queen Cleopatra the sister and of queen Cleopatra his wife, goddesses Euergetidae, the priest at Alexandria of Alexander and the gods Soteres and the gods Adelphi and the gods Euergetae and the gods Philopatores and the gods Epiphaneis and the god Eupator and the god Philometer and the gods Euergetae, the athlophorus of Berenice Euergetis, the canephorus of Arsinoe Philadelphus, the priestess of Arsinoe Philopator being those now in office at Alexandria, likewise at Ptolemais in the Thebaid the priests and priestesses and the canephorus being those now in office at Ptolemais in the Thebaid, on the 11th of the month Phamenoth, at Crocodilopolis, before Heraclides agoranomus of the nome of Peri Thebas: Isidorus son of Theon also called Phaesis son of Teôs, Persian, (officer) of the mercenary cavalry at Crocodilopolis . . . aged about 50, medium height, fair-skinned, curly-haired, long-faced, straight-nosed, eyes fairly blue has sold the dovecot consisting of twelve spirals, belonging to him, with breeding pigeons, and the attached uncultivated lands situated on the sand bank and west part of Pathyris whose neighbours are on the south houses of Horus the purchaser, on the north, west, and east the king's highway, or whatsoever be the neighbours on every side. The purchaser is Horus, son of Nechouthes, Persian, aged about 35, medium-height, fair-skinned, bald on the forehead, long-faced, straight-nosed, left ear bored. Guarantor of eviction and surety for all the terms of this sale is Isidorus also called Phaesis the vendor, whom Horus the purchaser has accepted. I, Heliodorus, have transacted the business.'

Col. ii, l. 1. For the titulature cf. e.g. PSI. 1016 (= *Select Papyri* 37) of 129 B.C. The formula usually runs *Πτολεμαίου θεοῦ Εὐεργέτου*, but *τοῦ* here is certain.

6. Isidorus appears also in P. Adler G. 1, where he figures as *τακτόμισθος* and P. Adler dem. 2 (*ἵππαρχος*). An officer's rank is perhaps to be restored here. *Παθύρει* or *Παθύρεως* must be included in the restoration, if P. Mil. I. 2, fr. C is correctly placed: perhaps *ἱππέ[ων τῶν ἐν Π]α̣θύ[ρει ἵππαρχος*.

For *τῶν ἐκ Κροκοδίλων πόλεως μισθοφόρων ἱππέων* cf. P. Grenf. I. 31; II. 42, etc.

ὑποχαροπός: same description in P. Adler G. 2, ii. 6. Cf. *ὑποχάροψ* in P. Teb. 816, i. 4 and 817, 33, and *ἐπιχάροψ* in *Archiv*, IV. 43.

7. *ὑπάρχον*: same false gender in i. 4. It is uncertain how much is lost after *περι̣σ̣τ̣ε[ρ]ω̲ν̲[α*. In so far as the length of lines can be gauged from the supplements required to fit in the Milan fragments, from l. 8 onwards the lines were considerably (*c.* 20 letters) shorter. Perhaps the shorter line began in l. 7, but does not seem to have done so in l. 6.

8. *γ[ε]γονισμένον*: from *γονίζω*, not previously found. But reading and sense are certain from the use of the parallel form *γονάω* in the papyrus published by K. B. Gapp, *TAPA.* LXIV (1933), 80 ff. (= SB. 7814) l. 32 *παραδότωσαν τὸν περιστερεῶνα γεγονησόμενον*, transl. by Gapp 'which shall be in a productive state', but perhaps better rendered (cf. A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, p. 239) 'with breeding pigeons' or 'in a breeding condition'.

κοχλιῶν: several ancient dovecots were unearthed by the American expedition at Karanis, and a common form of 'cranny' for the nesting birds was formed of a clay shell, in shape like a chemist's flask on its side, embedded horizontally in a mud-brick wall (A. E. R. Boak and E. E. Peterson, *Karanis*, pp. 24, 49 and Pl. XXXII). In P. Teb. 84, 9 the term used is *ἀγγεῖα*. Present-day pigeon houses in the Fayum, formed of clay bells stacked in tiers, are shown in the photographs of Borchardt-Ricke, *Ägypten* (Berlin, 1929), Pl. 103.

10. Description of Horus from P. Adler G. 15, but usually *ὑποκλαστὸς* (its opposite, however, in P. Adler G. 17) figures also among the adjectives. There is not room for it here (cf. Griffith, P. Adler, p. 69). Horus is here described as aged about 35, while in P. Adler G. 5 of 108 B.C. his age is given as about 36. In these descriptions the data regarding age are no more reliable than those of personal characteristics.

11. *προπωλητής*: on its proper sense cf. Pringsheim, *JEA.* XXVI, p. 144.

582. AGREEMENT FOR CESSION AND CULTIVATION

Oxyrhynchite nome. 30 November 42 B.C.

Two fragments, non-contiguous, one from the head, the other from the foot of a *ἑξαμάρτυρος συγγραφὴ* dated in November 42 B.C. To judge from measurements, unless the contract ran to two columns, which is unlikely, not more than 10 lines are lost. The document was folded several times horizontally in antiquity, and the points of folding strengthened on the verso with small binding strips of papyrus, some of them written on.

Because of the mutilation the contents of the contract are obscure. The second fragment (reminiscent of a contract of *παραμονή*) shows a certain Chares as agreeing, in view of a consideration to cover expenses, to perform for the ensuing year agricultural work for Dionysia, or to pay a fine in case of default: and the right of execution rests with Dionysia. The docket on the verso, however, is *ὁμ(ολογία) παραχω(ρήσεως) [πρὸς] Διονυσίαν*, and that there has been some transfer of title is confirmed by the tax-farmers' endorsement, implying a transaction in which some of the *ἐγκύκλιον* taxes were payable. It is unlikely that *παραχώρησις* has its full technical sense of transfer of a *κλῆρος κατοικικός* (for most recent discussion see P. Fouad I. 38 introd.), or if it has that **582** is the instrument of such a *παραχώρησις*. Possibly the transaction is a complex one, the cession by Dionysia of a portion (*μέρος*, cf. l. 12, 14) of her *κλῆρος* to Chares for a sum in drachmae plus an obligation on Chares to cultivate the portion which she retains; and that the present document records this obligation, while there was a separate instrument for the cession.

Fragment i. 6·5×5·5 cm.

[Βασιλευόντων] Κ̣λ[εο]πάτρας θεᾶς Φ[ι]λοπάτορος
[καὶ Πτολεμαίου] τ[οῦ κα]ὶ Καίσαρ θεοῦ Φιλ̣οπάτορος
[Φιλομήτορος ἔτου]ς̣ ἑνδεκάτου, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τῶν κοινῶ[ν]
[ὡς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρέια]ι γρ̣άφ̣ε̣ται μηνὸς Α̣ὐδναίο[υ κθ]
[καὶ Ἀθὺρ κθ ἐν] Ὀξυ̣ρ̣ύγχ[ω]ν πόλει τῆς Θη[βαίδος
. . . . . .

Fragment ii. 11·5×24 cm.

]. s
] δῃ
[7]. διλου̣ κ[λ]ήρ[ο]υ εἰς τὸ ἐ̣νεστη[κ]ὸ̣ς̣ ι̣α̣ (ἔτος)
[4·5 ἀλ]λ̣ή̣λ̣ο̣υ̣ς̣ ἕνεκα τοῦ ἐκπεπεῖσθαι τὸν
[Χάρητ]α̣ ὑπὸ τῆς Διονυσίας ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τοὺς
[καρπ]ο̣ὺς καὶ τὴν κατασποράν δαπανήμασι
[ἀπὸ τοῦ] εἰρημένου μέρους τῆς γεωργίας. βεβαι-
[ούτω δ]ὲ̣ Χάρης Διονυσίαι καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτῆς
[τὸ εἰρ]ημένον μέρος τῆς γεωργίας πάσηι
[βεβαιώσε]ι̣ ἢ ἀποτεισάτω αὐτῆι ὡς ἴ̣δ̣ι̣ο̣ν̣ χρέος
[ἐπίτιμο]ν ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας
[καὶ εἰς τὸ] βασιλικὸν τὰς ἴσας χωρὶς τοῦ καὶ τὴν
[παραχώρη]σ̣ι̣ν ταύτην ε̣ἶναι κυρίαν· καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις

[ἔστω Δ]ι̣ο̣νυσίαι ἔκ τε τοῦ Χάρητος καὶ ἐκ τῶν
[ὑπα]ρχόντων αὐτοῦ πάντων καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης
[καθό]τι πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνεχώρησαν. μάρτυρες
[Σ]α̣ρα̣(πίων) Τϵ( ), Σευθᾶς Ὀν( ), Ἀ̣π̣ο̣λ( ) Ἡρα( ), Ἀ̣π̣ο̣λ̣( ) Ἰϵ( ),
Ξα̣ν( ) . . ν( ), Κ̣ϵ̣ . ( ) . . . ( ),
συγγραφοφ(ύλαξ) Σαραπίων.
(2nd hand) Ἔτους ια Ἀθὺρ κθ διὰ Ἱεροκλέους
τοῦ σὺν Ἑρμοφάντωι πρὸς τῶι ρ⁻ ϵν ξ⁻
Ἑρμόφαντος ἐπηκο(λούθηκα) (ἔτους) ια Ἀθ(ὺρ) κθ.
Verso (in 1st hand) Χάρη]τ̣ος ὁμ(ολογία) παραχω(ρήσεως) δ̣ϵ̣λ̣ῳ( )
πρὸς] Διονυσίαν

'In the eleventh year of queen Cleopatra the goddess Philopator and king Ptolemy who is also Caesar the god Philopator and Philometor, and the rest of the prescript that is written in Alexandria, on the 29th of the month Audnaios = Hathyr 29, in the city of Oxyrhynchus in the Thebaid. . . .

'of the . . . lot for the present 11th year (it is mutually agreed) as a result of Chares being given a consideration by Dionysia as regards the expenses of harvesting and sowing according to the prescribed share of cultivation. Chares is to guarantee fully to Dionysia and her assigns the prescribed share of cultivation, or is to pay to her as a private debt, as fine, five hundred drachmas of silver and the same amount to the royal treasury, and this cession is to be valid. Dionysia is to have the right of execution against both the person of Chares and all his property as if in virtue of legal action, according to their mutual agreement. Witnesses . . . . I, Sarapion, am custodian of the deed.'

(Docketed) 'Year 11, Hathyr 29, through Hierocles partner of Hermophantus in the collection of the 1/100th and 1/60th. I Hermophantos have supervised. Year 11 Hathyr 29.'

(Endorsed on back) 'Agreement of Chares with Dionysia for cession of . . .'

1. For the formula and dating, cf. e.g. P. Oxy. 1635, PSI. 549. Known instances of dating by Caesarion associated with Cleopatra are collected and their significance discussed by J. Carcopino, *Annales de l'École des hautes études de Gand*, I. 62, 3. *Καῖσαρ* appears to be treated as indeclinable.

9. *ἐκπεπεῖσθαι*: cf. P. Teb. 311, 27; P. Lond. 289, 18.

25. Letters after *ρ⁻* are certainly *ϵν*, without mark of abbreviation, so that the obvious expansion (*ἑκατοστῇ*) *ἐν(κυκλίου)* (*ἑξηκοστῇ*) is a little hazardous. The 1/100th and 1/60th, which it is generally agreed are sales taxes additional to the *ἐγκύκλιον*, are discussed by Wilcken, UPZ., p. 513; Westermann, *Upon Slavery*, p. 19, edd. notes on P. Teb. 876, 7 (where *ἐγκύκλιον*, *ξ′*, *ρ′*, and *Α′* are all found together). Cf. further BGU. 1219 and 1220 for the 1/60th; and P. Teb. 871 and 1063.

27. *δ̣ϵ̣λ̣ῳ( )*: not *διλου*, i.e.]*.διλου̣ κλήρου* of l. 8.

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583. LEASE OF A VINEYARD

Philadelphia (Arsinoite nome). 12 November 170 B.C.

This document was published by E. G. Turner in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XXXI (1948), 148 ff., with facsimile of fragment i. It consists of a lease for a year by Nicomachus of Halicarnassus of a vineyard near Philadelphia belonging to another settler in Egypt, Crates of Arsinoe in Lycia, to Apollonius characterized as Persian of the Epigone. The vineyard, 6 arourae in extent, is described as sandy (*ψάμμος*), but seems to have been in

working order. The terms of the lease are written out in great detail, contain several new words, and are of interest for the light thrown on viticulture in the Ptolemaic period, for which few such leases are extant.[1] The rent is a *pars quota* of the produce reckoned in wine (must), of which the lessor is to have two-thirds, the lessee one-third, after certain specified deductions have been made. These deductions are the *καθήκουσα ἀπόμοιρα*, wages for the treaders at the vintage (though pay for any labourers engaged in the day to day work of the vineyard is to be found by the lessee), hire of wine press, and a *ἡμικάδιον* of wine as *pourboire* to the local agricultural guild. Each party is to provide his own wine jars and his proportion of those required to contain the *ἀπόμοιρα*. The duties of the lessee, the *ἔργα*, are then carefully particularized and include arrangements for watering and guarding the vineyard, payment of wages, pruning and attention to young plants, cleaning of trenches and conduits and repair of fences, etc.

The lease is a *ἑξαμάρτυρος συγγραφή* and is written as a double document, on the recto but across the fibres of a piece of papyrus cut from a roll. It is preserved in two fragments, and in the publication the foot of fragment i is assumed to have touched the top of fragment ii; but there is no certitude in this arrangement, and there may have been a gap of one or more lines between the fragments. The second portion is broken at the foot and there is no absolute control of the length of the document. Before mutilation it was over 50 cm. in height, and about 28–30 cm. in width. After writing it was folded in antiquity both vertically and laterally (fragm. ii was folded 13 times laterally), while fragm. i, the 'inner' text, was sealed, and attested on the verso. The hand of the inner text is a thickly written minute cursive, closely resembling that of P. Amherst 43 (P. Amh. II, Pl. VIII), difficult to read, especially in the places where the surface is damaged. Fortunately it can for the most part be controlled by the readings of hand three,[2] the writer of the outer text, but its last eight lines which are much mutilated have been abandoned as illegible. At the foot of this text stood four lines in the hand of the *συγγραφοφύλαξ* Stelias in a medium-sized characterless cursive. The outer text which follows was written in a larger, more upright and more regular cursive. On the verso are the seal attestations of Stelias and the five other witnesses, and a mutilated docket.

It is not likely that the writers of this lease made an elementary slip in their dates by writing 'year 1' where they meant 'year 2', for the words *ἔτος πρῶτον* occur four times in the extant portions (ll. 1, 6, 48, 81). It was already known that Philometor's twelfth year as sole sovereign was equated with the first year of the remodelled kingship (see T. C. Skeat, *Mizraim*, 6, 33); the novelty of **583** consists in putting the change early in the year, for 9th Phaophi year 1 can be equivalent only to 12 November 170 B.C. On this important point support is given by the demotic P. British Museum Eg. 10591, verso col. ii, ll. 5–6 (Sir Herbert Thompson, *A Family Archive from Siut from Papyri in the British Museum*, p. 51, n. 22) dated Year 11, Mesore 19 (= 18 September 170 B.C.), which mentions 'temple rites in honour of the reigning sovereigns', the Pharaoh and his divine sister and brother. September 170 B.C. must

[1] None are to be found in the list of such leases given by T. Kalén, introd. to P. Berl. Leihgabe 23, cf., however, P. Teb. 120, col. viii; 137; 815 fr. 6, col. ii, 31 ff. and 815 fr. 10, col. iii, which are in summary form or fragmentary. S.B. 7188, a second-century B.C. lease of a *παράδεισος*, has a number of provisions similar to those of the present lease and has been of some use in restorations.

[2] To aid the reader we have underlined the restorations in the inner contract which are based on extant words in the outer text.

therefore be considered as the *terminus ante quem* for all the events connected with Antiochus Epiphanes' first invasion of Egypt (the actual invasion, flight of Philometor, establishment of his brother as king in Alexandria, followed by a remodelling of the monarchy as the joint triple kingship of Philometor, Euergetes, and Cleopatra, and presumably also the withdrawal of Antiochus from Egypt). These important chronological points were argued in greater detail in the original publication with reference to the latest discussions then available.[1] Into the repercussions of this date on the wider questions of Roman and especially Polybian chronology this is not the place to enter.

Fragment i (1st hand). 21 × 13·5 cm.

[Βασιλευόντων Πτολεμαίου καὶ Π]τολεμαίου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ [καὶ] Κλεοπάτρας [τ]ῶν Πτολεμαίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας θεῶν Ἐπιφανῶν ἔτους πρώτου ἐφ' ἱερέως τοῦ [ὄντος ἐν Ἀλεξα-]

[νδρείαι Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν Σω]τήρων καὶ θεῶν Ἀδ[ελ]φῶν καὶ θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν καὶ θεῶν Φιλοπ[ατό]ρων καὶ θεῶν Ἐπιφανῶν καὶ θεῶν Φιλομητόρων, [ἀθλοφόρου]

[Βερενίκης Εὐεργέτιδος κανηφόρο]υ Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου [ἱερ]είας Ἀρσινό[ης] Φιλοπάτορο[ς τ]ῶν [οὐσ]ῶν ἐν Ἀ[λεξ]α[ν]δρείαι, μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ ἐνάτηι, Φαῶφι ἐνάτη[ι ἐν Φιλαδελ-]

[φείαι τοῦ Ἀρσινοείτου. ἐμίσθ]ω[σ]εν Νικόμαχος Φ[. . . . . αδου Ἁλικαρ]νασσεὺς διάδοχος τ[ο]ῦ
Ἀπολλωνίωι Ἀπολλωνίου Πέρσηι τῆς ἐπιγον[ῆς]
πατρ[ικο]ῦ κλήρου τὸν ὑπάρχοντα Κράτητι Φειδίμου Ἀρσι[νοείτηι]

[ἀπὸ Λυκίας τῶν καθ' αὐτοὺς Παμ]φύλων τακτομίσ[θωι] [[Ἀ[π]ολ[λωνί]ωι Ἀπολλωνίου [Π]έρσηι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς τὸν ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῶι]] ἀμπελῶνα ὕφαμμ[ον περὶ τὴν]

[αὐτὴν Φιλαδέλφειαν ὅς ἐστιν ἀρο]υρῶν ἓξ ἢ ὅσαι ἐὰν ὦ[σιν] εἰς τὸ πρῶ[τ]ον ἔτος ἐπὶ μέρει τρίτωι τῶν ἐσομένων ἐν τῶι ἀμπελῶνι τούτωι καρπῶν [πάντων καὶ]

[γενημάτων ἐφ' ὧι οἰνοποιηθέντω]ν π[άντων τ]ῶν καρπῶν καὶ ἀφαιρεθείσης τῆς καθη⟨κ⟩ούσης ἀπομοίρας εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν καὶ πατηταῖς καὶ μισθοῦ ληνο[ῦ καὶ κατὰ]

[μῆνα τῆς ὀπώρας ἀποδιδομένου] εἰς τὸν γεωργικὸν θίασον ἡμικαδίου τὸ καταλειπόμενον γλεῦκος διελό[μενοι] μέρη τρία λήψεται τὰ μὲν δύο μέρη Ν[ικόμαχος, τὸ]

[δὲ τρίτον Ἀπολλώνιος, κέραμον δὲ] ἕκαστος ἑαυτῶι χορηγείτω καὶ τὸν εἰς τὴν ἀπόμοιραν καθήκοντα κατὰ [τὸ ἐ]πιβάλλον μέρος τῆς μισθώσεω[ς, τὸν δὲ κέραμον]

[ἕκαστος ἑαυτῶι καταφερέτω εἰ]ς τὴν ληνὸν καὶ τὸ γλεῦκος ἕκαστος ἑαυτῶι ἀναφερέτω, τὴν δὲ ἀπομο[ίρα]ν α[. . .]αρ . [. . . .] . [.] . . . [.] . τ . ωι[. . .] . [11–13]

[24–8] κομισάμενος . . ν . [.]α[.]ο παρὰ ληνοῦ αὐτὸς . . . γραψάτ[ω], τὴν [. . .] . . [. .] . . [. .] καὶ εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίο[υ 11–13]

[24–8] ν · νπε [. . . . .] . . [. . .] . της κλη[.] . . ωριτα . ιτην καὶ τοὺς καθήκοντας ποτισμοὺς καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν κα[ρπῶν 7–9]

[24–8] . δος ἐπιμήνιον ἐπιτελεί[τ]ω Ἀ[πολλώ]νιος ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου χρόνου μέχρι τοῦ [ἀ]ποκαταστήσασθαι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀναλώμ[ασιν ὡς συμφέρει τῶι]

[τε ἐδάφει καὶ τῆι ἀμπέλωι, τὴν τομ]ὴν τῆς ἀμπέλου πο[ι]ούμενος μέσην καὶ δικαίαν καὶ τὰ ἀμπελικὰ τῶν νέων ἐργασάσθω ὡς καθήκει καὶ παρεχέ[σθω τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ χω-]

[ρίου καθαρὸν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ θ]ρύου καὶ καλάμου καὶ ἀγρώστεως καὶ κιναίου καλάμου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης δίσης ἐκριζῶν πλὴν τῆς χέρσου τῆς ἐντὸς τῆς ἀπ[οσκαφῆς(?) καὶ]

[1] F. M. Heichelheim had access to this papyrus at an earlier date and quoted its prescript in his article on Komanos in RE. Supplement VII, on which are based some remarks of Cavaignac, *Rev. Hist. Rel.* cxxx (1945), pp. 21 ff. This was not known to the writer at the time of the original publication.

[παρεχέσθω τὰς ἀποσκαφὰς διωρυγμ]ένας καὶ καθαρὰς καὶ περιπεφραγμένον τὸ χωρίον καὶ ἀναψάτω τοὺς ὀμβριστῆρας καὶ τὴν ἄφεσιν φραξάτω πρὸς τὸν σ . [*c.* 11]
[καὶ εἰσαγέτω (?) αὐτὴν πρὸς τοὺς] ποτισμοὺς τοῦ τε κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν χρόνου διελθόντος παραδειξάτω τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ χωρίου καθαρὸν καὶ ἀποσκαφ[ὰς καθαρὰς κα-]
[θὰ διασεσάφηται. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ παρ]αδείξηι ἢ μὴ ἐπιτε[λ]ῆι ἕκαστα τ[ῶ]ν ἔργων κατὰ καιρὸν ἢ λίπηι τὴν μίσθωσιν ἀποτεισάτω τῶν μὲν ἔργων ὧν ἂν [μ]ὴ ἐ[πιτελῆι κατὰ]
[καιρὸν τὸν στοκαθησόμενο]ν ἔσεσθαι μισθὸν ἡμιόλιον καὶ τὸ βλάβος ὃ ἂν καταβλάψηι κατὰ τὸν [χρόν]ον τοῦ λείπειν τὴν μίσθωσιν ἐπίτιμον ἀργυρί[ου τάλαντα δύο.]
[μεταβαλεῖν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐ]ν τοῖς διαψίλοις μ[τ]όρχια πεντήκοντα τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀναλώμασιν καὶ μεταφυτ[ε]υσάτω ἐν τῶι αὐτ[ῶι] ἔτει ἐ[ν τῶι κα]θήκ[οντι 11–13]
[*c.* 18 ὅταν δυ]ναταὶ ὦσιν Νικομ[ά]χου ν . . αντ . [.] τὸν ὁλοκάλαμον. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ μεταβάληι ἀποτ[ισ]άτω ἑκάστου [μετορχίου] ὅταν [μὴ σ 8–10]
[*c.* 18 με]ταφυτ[εῦσ]αι δραχμὰς χιλίας. . ν δὲ Ἀπολλώ[νι]ος ὢν ἐὰν μὴ στ[*c.* 7]λ[*c.* 7]πο[(ης)
[*c.* 18 ταξάσθω Ἀπολλώνιο]ς ἐ[κ τοῦ ἰδίου.] ἐὰν δὲ μὴ τάξηται ἀποτεισ[άτω ἡμιόλιον
[*c.* 33 Νικομάχο]υ, τὸ δὲ τρίτον Ἀπολλωνίου ἑ[κάστου
[*c.* 40 φύλ]ακα ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τ[ὴν [. . . .] . . . . . [
[*c.* 40 κ]αθήκοντα ἔργα καθότι καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κα[ταμήνιοι
[*c.* 35 δόντος] Νικομάχου ἀμὴν εἰς τὰ ἔργα τοῦ χωρίου [
[*c.* 35 ἀποτει]σάτω αὐτῆς τιμὴν ἣν ἂν κατομόσηι [Νικόμαχος
[ ] μηνὶ φαιν[
Broken

Fragment ii. 23×34 cm.

Seven further fragmentary and illegible lines, followed by five further lines, mainly illegible in 2nd hand, perhaps summary of the contract, and names of witnesses, with signature of *Στηλίας συγγραφοφύλαξ* at end.

(3rd hand):

[βασιλευόντων Πτολεμαίου καὶ] Πτολε[μαίου] τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ Κλεοπάτρας τῶν Πτ[ολ]εμαίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας θεῶν Ἐπι-
[φανῶν ἔτους πρώτου ἐφ' ἱερέως το]ῦ ὄντος [ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι Ἀ]λεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν Σωτ[ήρων] καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν καὶ θεῶν
[Εὐεργετῶν καὶ θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων κα]ὶ θεῶν Ἐπιφανῶν καὶ θεᾶς [Φι]λομητόρ[ων,] ἀθλοφόρου Βερ[ενίκης Εὐεργέ]τιδος κανηφόρου
[Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου ἱερείας Ἀρσινό]ης Φιλοπάτορος τῶν οὐσῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ ἐνάτηι, Φαῶφι ἐνάτηι ἐ[ν] Φ[ι-
[λαδελφείαι τοῦ Ἀρσινοείτου. ἐμί]σθωσεν Νικόμαχος Φ[. .] . . . αδου Ἀλικαρνασσεὺς διάδοχος τοῦ πατρικοῦ κλήρου Ἀπολλω[νίωι
[Ἀπολλωνίου Πέρσηι τῆς ἐπιγο]νῆς τὸν ὑπά[ρ]χοντα Κράτητι Φειδίμου Ἀρσινοείτης ἀπὸ Λυκίας τῶν καθ' αὐτοὺς Παμφύλ[ων
[τακτομίσθωι ἀμπελῶνα ὕφα]μμο[ν] περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν Φιλαδέλφειαν ὃς [ἐστ]ιν ἀρουρῶν ἓξ ἢ ὅσαι ἂν ὦσιν εἰς τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος
[ἐπὶ μέρει τρίτωι τῶν ἐσομένων ἐν τῶ]ι [ἀμπελ]ῶνι τ[ύ]τωι καρπῶν πάντων καὶ γενημάτων ἐφ' ᾧι οἰνοποιηθέντων

[τῶν καρπῶν καὶ ἀφαιρεθείσης τῆς κα]θηκ[ο]ύ[σ]ης ἀπ[ο]μοίρας εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν καὶ πατηταῖς καὶ μισθοῦ ληνοῦ καὶ κατὰ μή-

[να τῆς ὀπώρας ἀποδιδομένου εἰς τὸν γε]ωργικὸν θίασον ἡμ[ι]καδίου τὸ καταλειπόμενον γλεῦκος διελόμενοι μέρη τρία

[λήψεται τὰ μὲν δύο μέρη Νικόμαχος, τὸ] δὲ τρίτον [Ἀπ]ολλώνιος, κέραμον δὲ ἕκαστος ἑαυτῶι χορηγείτω καὶ τὸν εἰς

[τὴν ἀπόμοιραν καθήκοντα κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος τ]ῆς μισθώσεως, τὸν δ[ὲ κ]έραμον [ἕ]κα[σ]τος ἑαυ[τ]ῶι κατα-

[φερέτω εἰς τὴν ληνὸν καὶ τὸ γλεῦκος ἕκαστος] ἑα[υτῶι ἀναφερέτω, τὴν δὲ] ἀπόμ[οιραν c. 27

[c. 35]ιλ[

[c. 35]ς ἀ[πὸ τ]οῦ π[ρ]ογεγραμμένου χ[ρόνου c. 27

[c. 35] τοὺς ποτισμοὺς καὶ τὴν φυλ[ακὴν] τῶν [καρ]πῶν . αρ[. . . . .] . [c. 9–12

[c. 28 ἐπιμήνιον] ἐπιτελείτω Ἀπολλώνιος ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου χρόνου μέχρι

[τοῦ ἀποκαταστήσασθαι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνα]λώμασι[ν] ὡς συμφέρει τῶι τε ἐδάφει καὶ τῆι ἀμπέλωι, τὴν τομὴν τῆς ἀμπέ[λου

[ποιούμενος μέσην καὶ δικαίαν κ]αὶ [τὰ] ἀμ[πελ]ικ[ὰ] τῶν νέων ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐργασάσθω ὡς καθήκει καὶ παρεχέσθω τὸ ἔδαφος

[τοῦ χωρίου καθαρὸν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ θ]ρύ[ου κ]αὶ καλάμου καὶ ἀγρώστεως καὶ κιναίου κα[λ]άμου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης

[δίσης ἐκριζῶν πλὴν τῆς χέρσου τῆς ἐπὶ τῶι] . . [.]ενω[ι ὑ]ποδοχίωι, τὸν δὲ θῖνα τὸν ἐντὸς τῆς ἀποσκαφῆς μεταβαλέτω καὶ παρεχέσθω τὰς ἀποσκα-

[φὰς διωρυγμένας καὶ καθαρὰς] καὶ [περι]πεφραγμένον τὸ χωρίον καὶ ἀναψάτω τοὺς ὀμβριστῆρας καὶ τὴν ἄφεσιν

[φραξάτω πρὸς τὸν 12] . . [καὶ εἰσα]γέτω αὐτὴν πρὸς τοὺς ποτισμοὺς τοῦ τε κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν χρόνου

[διελθόντος παραδειξάτω τὸ ἔδ]αφος τοῦ χωρίου καθαρὸν καὶ τὰς ἀποσκαφὰς καθαρὰς καθὰ διασεσάφηται. ἐὰν δὲ

[μὴ παραδείξηι ἢ μὴ ἐπιτελῆι] ἕκαστα τῶν ἔργων κατὰ καιρὸν ἢ λίπηι τὴν μίσθωσιν ἀποτεισάτω τῶν μὲν ἔργων

[ὧν ἂν μὴ ἐπιτελῆι κατὰ κα]ιρὸν τὸν στοκαθησόμενον ἔσεσθαι μισθὸν ἡμιόλιον καὶ τὸ βλάβος ὅ ἂν καταβλάψηι κατὰ

[τὸν χρόνον τοῦ λείπειν τὴν μ]ίσθωσιν ἐπίτιμον ἀργ[υρ]ίου τάλαντα δύ[ο μ]εταβαλεῖν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐν τοῖς δια-

[ψίλοις μετόρχια πεντήκοντα τ]ο[ῖ]ς ἰδίοις ἀνα[λ]ώμ[ασιν καὶ μετα]φ[υτ]ευ[σ]άτω ἐν τῶι αὐτῶι ἔτει ἐν τῶι καθήκοντι

[c. 22] ὅταν δυναταὶ ὦσιν [Ν]ικ[ομάχου c. 6 τὸν ὁ]λοκάλαμον. ἐὰ[ν δ]ὲ μὴ μεταβάληι

[ἀποτεισάτω ἑκάστου μετ]ορχίου ὅταν μὴ σ . [c. 20]το ω[.] . . [.]ν μ[ε]τα[φυ]τεῦσαι δραχμὰ[ς]

[χιλίας 15–16 ἐ]ὰν μὴ στησ[.] νι[. . . . δ]ραχμὰς [εἴ]κο[σι 10] ἐγλελογευμένον ὑπὲρ τῆς λη-

[νοῦ 11 ταξάσθω Ἀ]πολλώνιος ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ τ[άξηται ἀποτε]ισάτω ἡμιόλιον τῆσδε καὶ τὰ λα-

[3–4 ἐὰν δὲ ἦι οἶνος ἀπὸ ἀστα]φίδος καὶ δευτέ[ριος], ἔστω τὰ μὲν [δύ]ο μέρη Νικομάχο[υ, τὸ δ]ὲ τρίτον Ἀπολλωνίου ἑκάσ-

75 [του 17] τ̣ὰ̣ δὲ ξύλα ακαλι̣[. .]α̣ δησάτω Ἀπολλώνιος. ἐὰν δὲ βούληται Νικόμαχος φύλακα ἐμβαλεῖν
[15 τῶν κα]ρπῶν ἐξέστω αὐτῶ̣[ι], τ̣ό τε ὀψώνιον δώσει αὐτῶι Ἀπολλώνιος ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐργαζομένου αὐ-
[τοῦ τὰ καθήκοντα ἔργα κ]αθό̣τ̣ι καὶ οἱ λο[ι]ποὶ κ[ατ]αμήνιοι. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ εὐτάκτηι Ἀπολλώνιος [τὸ] ὀψώνιον ἀποτεισάτω
[20] ἔχει δὲ Ἀπολλώ̣νιος δ[ό̣]ν̣[τος Νικ]ο̣μάχο̣[υ] ἀμὴν εἰς τὰ ἔργα τοῦ χωρίου τούτου ἣν καὶ παραδότω
ἣν καὶ παρεῖχεν παρὰ [το]ῦ Κ̣ράτητος
[c. 15 ἐὰν δὲ] ἐ̣π̣ε̣ι̣δὰν ἀπόβηι ἀπὸ τ̣ῆς [μισθώσεως μ]ὴ παράδωι ἀποτεισάτω [α]ὐτ[ῆ]ς τ̣ι̣μὴν ἣν ἂν κα-
80 [τομόσηι Νικόμαχος. ἐὰν] δὲ συ . κινη̣ι̣ ἐπιβ̣ά̣λ̣οι (?) εγ[9–10]ιου τ̣αξά[σ]θω π̣ά̣ντων φόρον Νικομάχωι χαλκοῦ δρ[αχμὰς]
[17 ἀπ]όμοιρ[α]ν τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ πρώτου ἔτους. [ἐὰν δὲ μ]ὴ τάξηται, ἀποτεισάτω αὐτ̣ὰ̣ς̣ ἡμιολίους, τὸν δὲ [7
[17 με]τὰ τῆς Ν[ι]κ̣ο̣μ̣άχου ἢ το[ῦ ὑπὲρ α]ὐτοῦ γνώμης ὅταν καιρὸς ἦι. ἐὰν δέ τινες εὑρεθῶ̣σ̣ι̣ . . . . [5
[19]ων ἐπιθέσθω ἕω[ς . . . .] ἑκατόν τεσσαράκοντα ἀνυπόλογοι ἔστωσαν, τῶν δὲ πλειόνω[ν]
[19] . ς ἑκατ̣[ό]ν̣ ἀ̣π̣ὸ τ̣ο[ῦ 15]νι. [5 χ]αλκοῦ δραχμὰς εἴκοσι. βεβαιούτω
85 [δὲ τὴν μίσθωσιν ταύτην Νικό]μ̣α̣χ̣[ος Ἀπολλ]ωνίωι̣ [14] τη[c. 20 ἀκο]λούθως . . [
[c. 45]αρ[c. 36] . . λο[
[c. 45] . [

Broken off

Verso, in 2nd hand, at foot of inner document:

Στηλίου . υμνου Κλέωνος
. . . [ ] . . . οιτ̣ο̣υ̣ Ζωπύρου

Below, traces of 4 short lines, probably docket. Line 2 perhaps:

Ἀπο]λ̣λ̣ω̣ν̣ί̣ο̣υ̣

19 (cf. 67). l. *στοχασθησόμενον* 47. l. *Ἀρσινοείτηι*

'In the first year of the reign of Ptolemy and Ptolemy the brother and Cleopatra, children of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, gods Epiphaneis, the priest at Alexandria of Alexander and the gods Soteres and the gods Adelphi and the gods Euergetae and the gods Philopatores and the gods Epiphaneis and the gods Philometores, the athlophorus of Berenice Euergetis, the canephorus of Arsinoe Philadelphus, the priestess of Arsinoe Philopator, being those in office at Alexandria, on the 9th of the month Xandikos, 9th Phaophi, at Philadelphia in the Arsinoite nome. Nicomachus, son of Ph..... ades of Halicarnassus, successor to his father's holding, has leased to Apollonius son of Apollonius, Persian of the Epigone, the somewhat sandy vineyard situated near the same Philadelphia, being of 6 arourae or such as it may be, belonging to Crates, son of Pheidimus of Arsinoe in Lycia, tactomisthus of the Pamphylians in their command, for the first year for a rent of two-thirds of all the fruits and produce that grow in this vineyard; viz., when all fruits have been turned into wine and deductions made for the apomoira due to the Treasury, wages for the treaders, hire of winepress and a contribution (in the month of the vintage?) of a half kados to the agricultural guild, the must remaining shall be divided into three portions, of which Nicomachus shall take two and Apollonius one. Each shall provide jars for himself and as required for the apomoira according to the proportions of his lease, and each shall carry down the jars for himself to the winepress, and carry up the must for himself, while the apomoira . . . .

13–20 'monthly wages (?) are to be paid at his own expense by Apollonius from the time stated until termination of the lease, as is best for the land and the vine; Apollonius is to prune the vine moderately

and exactly, to attend properly to the dressing of the young vines, to keep the ground of the property clear of weedy growth and rush and reed and quake grass and kinaios reed and all other tangle of roots except for the dry ground inside the cross-trench, and is to maintain the cross-trenches dug and clean and the property fenced; he is to clear out the drains and fence the conduit facing the . . . and lead it through for the watering; and when the lease has expired, he is to deliver the ground of the property in clean condition and the cross-trenches clean, as is presently stated. If he fail to deliver it or to perform each of the tasks at the proper time, or if he abandon the lease, he is to pay the assessed wage with 50 per cent. surcharge for every task he fails to perform, and a fine of two silver talents for any damage that may be due at the time of his abandoning the lease. Apollonius is to shift 50 rows of vines to the uncultivated ground at his own expense and to transplant in the same year at the proper (time) . . .'

1. [*Βασιλευόντων κτλ.*]: for the titulature cf. P. Teb. 811, 1 ff.

4. *διάδοχος τ[ο]ῦ πατρ[ικο]ῦ κλήρου*: cf. BGU. 1738, 11; 1739, 7.

Ἀπολλωνίωι: the scribe at first wrote (in the next line) *Ἀπολλωνίωι* &c. followed by *τὸν ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῶι* (viz. Nicomachus) and corrected it by underlining *Ἀπολλωνίωι* to *αὐτῶι* in l. 5 and writing *Ἀπολλωνίωι* &c. above the line in l. 4. By what authority Nicomachus is able to grant a lease of land belonging to a third party does not appear.

Ἀρσι[νοείτηι ἀπὸ Λυκίας: cf. l. 47, where *Ἀρσινοείτης* is a mistake for *Ἀρσινοείτηι*. Patara in Lycia was renamed Arsinoe by Philadelphus, but the new name did not last, cf. Strabo xiv, c. 366; A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 100; cf. P. Cairo Zen. 59052, 12 note.

5. *τῶν καθ' αὐτοὺς Παμ]φύλων*, cf. l. 47. For the false aspiration of *κατά* cf. Mayser, *Grammatik* I, p. 201, and for the whole phrase cf. *τὸ καθ' αὐτόν* = 'the section under him' in Thuc. II, 11, 3.

6. *ἐπὶ μέρει τρίτωι*: explicitly set out, ll. 7 ff., as $\frac{2}{3}$ to lessor, $\frac{1}{3}$ to lessee. Cf. P. Lond. 163, 12; CPR. 244; *Stud. Pal.* XX, 70, 19, &c.

καρπῶν πάντων καὶ γενημάτων: cf. SB. 7188, 8, and often, e.g. P. Harris 137, 10.

7. *οἰνοποιηθέντω]ν*, cf. l. 49: in all previously known instances (Rev. Laws 25, 4, 7; 26, 1, 11; P. Cairo Zen. 59236, 7) the verb *οἰνοποιέω* is used absolutely = 'make wine'.

πατηταῖς: treaders for the wine-press, cf. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 282, n. 4. The construction is loose, strict syntax demanding e.g. *μισθοῦ πατητῶν*.

ληνός: here presumably in sense of wine-press, cf. Schnebel, loc. cit. 283, and 286 f. *μισθός* suggests the procedure illustrated in P. Teb. 1058.

[*κατὰ μῆνα τῆς ὀπώρας ἀποδιδομένου κτλ.*]: unauthorized restoration, cf. ll. 50–1, but made on the assumption that a *pourboire* of wine would not be granted every month. The circumstances of the grant suggest that the *γεωργικὸς θίασος* is also to some extent a professional guild. Cf. the *σύνοδος* of *συγγεωργοί* in SB. 7457 (between Ptolemy V and VII).

8. *γλεῦκος*: *must*, cf. Schnebel, loc. cit. 285, n. 4. The division of produce takes place after the completion of the preliminary operations in the manufacture of wine.

10. *καταφερέτω εἰ]ς*: the restoration was suggested by A. Cameron.

12.]*ν.νπ̣ε̣*[: or]*π.π̣πε*[.

For *τ̣ο̣ὺ̣ς̣ κ̣α̣θ̣ή̣κ̣ο̣ντας π̣ο̣τισμοὺς καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν* cf. Schnebel, loc. cit. 273, n. 4, and 277 f., and *infra*.

13. *ἐπιμήνιον* perhaps sc. *μισθόν*, for any labourers whom Apollonius may care to employ.

[*ἀ*]*ποκαταστήσασθαι*: cf. SB. 7188, 34 *μέχρι τοῦ ἀποκα⟨τασ⟩τήσασθαι τὰ δύο ἐ*[*δάφη*, technical term for restoring property on expiry of a lease.

ὡς συμφέρει κτλ.: cf. l. 59, SB. 7188, 14.

14. *τομ]ὴν . . . μέσην καὶ δικαίαν*: cf. P. Lond. 163, 20–1 *τὴν ἀμπέλου τομὴν μέσην καὶ δικαίαν, μή*[*τ' ἀ*]*κρ*[*ο*]*τομῶν*.

τὰ ἀμπελικὰ τῶν νέων sc. *ἀμπέλων*: the phrase is unusual and unparalleled, but the reading is certain, cf. l. 60. It is tempting to accent *νεῶν*, i.e. 'vinedressing of the fallow lands', but the parallels for *νεός* (*νειός*, *νέα*) are hardly adequate.

15. *ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν*: unauthorized restoration, but cf. SB. 7188, 25. Contrast *ἀνατολὴν* (= 'sprouting of the crops') in P. Teb. 703, 51 and note ad loc.

κιναίου καλάμου: *κιναίου* appears certain, being attested also in l. 61. Not in LSJ. or Preisigke, *WB.*, and what species of reed is intended must remain uncertain.

δίσης ἐκριζῶν; same phrase should be restored in SB. 7188, 25 *τῆς ἄλλης δίσης ἐκρ[ιζῶν.*

πλὴν τῆς χέρσου κτλ.: the two copies differ at this point, and it looks as though the scribe had omitted something from the inner copy between *τῆς χέρσου* and *ἐντὸς τῆς ἀποσκαφῆς*. In l. 62 *τῆς χέρσου* is probably defined further, and there is an additional clause about shifting the silt (*θῖνα*) inside the cross-trench.

ἀποσκαφῆς: 'cross-trench', cf. l. 17 ad fin., 62 (bis) and 65, where the reading is beyond dispute. *ἀποσκαφή* is not attested in the Lexica, but cf. *σκαφή*, *σκαφητός*, and *ἀποσκάπτω*.

16. *περιπεφραγμένον*: cf. Schnebel, loc. cit. 243–4.

τοὺς ὀμβριστῆρας: the compound *ἐξομβριστῆρες* occurs in P. Oxy. 2146, 6, 'conduits for carrying off rain water'. The word suggests a precaution in use in countries subject to sudden rain-storms to prevent the vines being waterlogged, and perhaps a part of Greek traditional viticulture.

ἄφεσις, 'conduit' of the main water supply. Cf. Calderini, *Aegyptus*, I, p. 192.

20. *μεταβαλεῖν*: cf. l. 68. The change from imperative to infinitive (with nominative) is noteworthy. *μ̣ε̣[τ]ό̣ρχια* cannot be taken as entirely certain, but is hard to escape, cf. *]ορχίο̣υ* in l. 71. According to LSJ. the word is attested only in Aristophanes, *Pax* 568 (and fr. 120), where it stands for the space between rows of vines, Columella's *interordinium* (Col. III, 13 &c.). 'To shift 50 interlinear spaces' appears to be a periphrasis for 'transplant 50 rows of vines into uncultivated ground'.

21. *δυ]ν̣αταὶ ὧσιν*: *δυναταί* (sc. *ἄμπελοι*?) in sense of 'suitable', as e.g. P. Magd. 3, 5, and 7 *γῆ δυνατὴ σπαρῆναι*. After *Νικομάχου* apparently not *δόντος* . *ὁ̣λοκά̣λ̣α̣μον*, cf. BGU. 1529, 10, stalk made of a single reed, for staking purposes. *μ̣ο̣ν̣οκά̣λ̣α̣μον* which would have the same sense is a less likely reading.

25. Hardly *εἰς τ̣ὴ̣ν̣ [φυλα]κήν*.

28. Possibly *μηνὶ Φαρμ[οῦθι*.

The remainder of the terms (from ll. 21 ff.) may be summarized as follows from the outer copy:

ll. 70–2. Penalties for failure to shift the rows and transplant.

72–3. Apollonius is to agree to pay any exaction for the wine-press, and penalties are prescribed for failure to do so. Perhaps restore [*ἐὰν δέ τι τύχηι*] *ἐκλελογευμέ̣νον* after [*εἴ*]*κο*[*σι*. *ἐκλογεύω* is not found in Preisigke, *WB.*, but is cited by LSJ. from IG. 5 (1), 1390, 47 (Andania), and cf. *ἐκλογεύς* and *ἐκλογή*. It is not clear whether this is a governmental tax on the wine-press (for possible tax on wine presses in the Roman period, cf. Wallace, *Taxation*, 75) or some exaction of first-fruits for cult reasons. The penalty is *ἡμιόλιον τῆσδε*, i.e. *ὑπὲρ τῆς ληνοῦ*. At end of line *τάλ̣α* | [*ντα x* is possible, but seems an excessive penalty.

74. If there is any raisin wine or 'seconds', it is to be divided between Nicomachus and Apollonius in the same proportion as the must. For *οἶνος ἀπὸ ἀστα*]*φίδος* cf. Plato, *Laws* 845*b*; *δευτέ*[*ριος*], or perhaps *δευτε*̣[*ρίας*], i.e. with *οἶνος*, LSJ. s.v. None of these terms have so far been found in papyri, but cf. Schnebel, loc. cit. 361, on the *δευτερόχυτος* of P. Flor. II, 178, 2.

75. *τὰ*] *δ̣ὲ̣ ξύλα*: seems to suggest a perquisite for Apollonius, and contracts of this type often contain a provision for enjoyment of cut or fallen timber. After *ξύλα ἀκάν̣θ̣*[*ιν*]*α̣* is possible, but not very likely. Perhaps *ἀγκαλ̣ι̣*[*στ*]*ά̣* (not otherwise attested, but cf. *ἀγκαλισμός* and Schnebel, loc. cit. 260)?

75–7. Nicomachus has the right to put in his own guard. Apollonius is to pay him an *ὀψώνιον* for work he may do in the vineyard just like other workmen engaged by the month. Penalties specified for failure to pay the *ὀψώνιον*. In l. 76 a possible restoration is [*εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν κα*]*ρπῶν*, but it does not seem possible to read this in l. 25. For *καταμήνιοι* cf. P. Oxy. 2155. 8, and for *εὐτακτεῖν τὸ ὀψώνιον* PSI. 350, 2.

77–9. Nicomachus has provided a shovel (actually the property of Crates) which is to be returned, or else the price sworn to by Nicomachus is to be paid.

80. From second half of sentence *φόρον* . . . *δρ*[*αχμὰς* | *x καὶ τὴν ἀπ*]*όμοιρ*[*α*]*ν* and l. 81 one might infer that this clause deals with planting of some other fruit-trees on which Apollonius is to pay (1) rent to Nicomachus, (2) *ἀπόμοιρα* to the government. But reading and syntax have so far defied reconstruction. Owing to displacement of fibres, it is not possible to decide whether or not a letter is lost between *συ* and *κ* in *συ.κιν̣η̣ι* (e.g. *συ*[*γ*]*κίνηι*?); *ν̣* in that word might also be *γ*, *τ*, *λ*, or *π*. In *εγ*[, *γ* might also be *π*, *ν*, or even *σ*.

584. LOAN ON MORTGAGE

Provenance unknown. 7×12·5 cm. Late third century B.C.

Fragment from the foot of a contract of loan on mortgage, apparently secured on a vineyard (if that is the correct reading and expansion of the abbreviation which occurs in ll. 8 and 12 and verso l. 1). Provisions are laid down for a woman Arsinoe to perform certain obligations punctually, to cultivate the property, and to keep it free of encumbrances. If these obligations are performed a certain Demetrius is under penalty to carry out renewal (*ἀνανεώσεις*, l. 9). There is hardly sufficient to show whether *ἀνανέωσις* means simply 'renewal' (as argued by Welles in *Yale Class. Stud.* II, p. 24) or whether it is to be taken as 'reaffirmation' and a step towards foreclosure (Harmon, ibid., pp. 28 ff.).[1] The form of penal clause suggests the former alternative and restorations have been made on this basis. At the foot a certain Apollodotus, an Alexandrine, makes certain undertakings, perhaps acting as guardian for Arsinoe. The verso, in the same hand, contains a draft agreement with many erasures referring to the same undertaking.

Ptolemaic loans on mortgage are rarely met. For the latest discussion and reference cf. P. Teb. 817 introd.

Recto . . . . . .

] . κατα τη . ẹχ . . . . [.] . ϕ [. .]
] ἀνανεώσεσθαι καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλο
[ἔτος εὐτα]κτούσης αὐτῶι Ἀρσινόης
[τοὺς τόκους καὶ τὸν ἀμ(πελῶνα) κατε]ργ[α]ζ̣[ο]μ̣ένης καὶ παρεχομένης
5 [καθαρὸν ἀπὸ βασιλικῶν] καὶ ἐὰ̣ν εἰς τὸ δανεῖον αὐτῶι
]γίν̣ωνται κομιζόμενος ἀεὶ τοσούτωι
] . . . ησεσθαι. ἐὰν δὲ εὐτακτούσης
[Ἀρσινόης τοὺς τόκους καὶ τ]ὸν ἀμ(πελῶνα) κατεργαζομένης καὶ παρεχομένης
[καθαρὸν ἀπὸ βασιλικῶν Δη]μήτριος μὴ ποιήσηται τὰς ἀνανεώσεις
10 [ἢ μὴ ἐπιτέληι τι τῶν ἄλλων κ]ạθότι ἡ συ(γγραφὴ) ἥδε διαγορεύει ἀποτεισάτω
[κατὰ ταῦτα Ἀρσινόηι ἐπί]τιμον ἀργυ(ρίου) δραχμὰς) $\overset{\beta}{\text{M}}$, ἡ δὲ συγγραφὴ ἥδε κυ(ρία) ἔστω

Ὁμολογία διὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἀνδρ]ὸ̣ς (?) Ἀπολλοδότου τοῦ πο(λίτου) Ἡφαιστιέως
πρὸς Δημήτριον] . ου Αἰακαδέα . ὁμολογεῖ Ἀπολλόδοτος ἐὰν μὴ
] . του Ἀρσινόη τὸ̣ν ἀμ(πελῶνα) ὃν ὑποτέθεικεν Δημη̣τ̣ρ̣[ίῳ].

3. Mark above *αὐτῶι* 8. $\overset{\alpha}{\mu}$, Pap. 10. $\overset{\sigma}{\upsilon}$, Pap. 11. $\overset{\upsilon}{\kappa}$, Pap. 12. ⳨, Pap.

Verso, same hand . . . . . .

ἀμ(πελῶν) (δρ.) Ἀ ὡς τὴν ἀπο[
$\overset{\tau\grave{o}\nu\ \grave{A}\ (\delta\rho.)}{}$ [
ἀνανεώσεσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ μ̣[
καὶ μι̣ᾶ̣ς εν . αικεκ . [
συ(γγραφὴ) επ̣ . . . . . ἀργυρίου [

[1] Cf. also introd. to P. Teb. 814.

εσθαι τὸν ἀμ(πελῶνα) μη [.] σ . . . . [
5 επι . υσ[[ ]][
λ του
π̣ρ̣ο̣ ε[[. . .]] σης [.] ου
[[ἄλλων]] [[ ]] μοι μι[
ὀκτὼ μήνων ἐὰν [
αλλ. συ(γγραφὴ) τὸν τῶν [[δροεμ . . . . . .]] [
κατὰ ταῦτα ἀποτείσω σοι ἐπίτ[ιμον ἀργυ(ρίου) (δρ.) (δισμυρίας)

5. *παρεχομένης*: cf. e.g. P. Teb. 817, col. iii. 22 *παρεχέσθω αὐτὴν ἀνέπαφον καὶ ἀνενεχύραστον καὶ ἀνεπιδάνειστον ἄλλου δανείου καὶ καθαρὰν ἀπὸ βασιλικῶν*. P. Hamb. 28, 8 similarly.

The length of line of present text cannot be established, and that used in the restorations is purely *exempli gratia*. It may have been considerably longer than that selected. The beginning of l. 12, where some description of *Ἀρσινόη* is to be expected, seems to require more space.

7.]...*ησεσθαι*: *ωσεσθαι* (i.e. *ἀν*]*ανεύσεσθαι*) cannot be read.

8. *ἀμ(πελῶνα)*: so also l. 14, written ⁂, which we take to be a cursive *α* written over a cursive *μ*.

12. *Ἡφαιστιέως*: for *Ἡφαιστιεύς* as demotic for Alexandria cf. P. Princeton 16, 2.

14. *Δημητρ*[*ίῳ*]: the reading is very uncertain.

Verso, l. 2: or read at end *ἐπὶ τὰ λ*[

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585. CONTRACT OF LOAN AND ASSIGNMENT OF SALARY ON OATH

Provenance unknown. Early second century B.C.

Two fragments of a contract of loan made in the temple of Berenice Aktia by Dionysius son of Athenagoras, whose army style was Nicholas son of Onesimus, a Cretan.

Of the first fragment only about a third of the length of the lines remain, and in addition to the loss at the sides, the papyrus was folded 13 times down its height and the writing at the folds is lost. It is written on the recto but across the fibres in a tall, jagged cursive hand, which may be assigned to the early second century B.C. In view of this mutilation the details of the contract are obscure. This is particularly unfortunate in that a number of new terms occur and the context is inadequate to explain them. Dionysius, who is probably a member of the king's bodyguard, appears to have assigned his salary of 2 silver drachmae per month to meet the interest on the loan, and the second fragment written in spiky uncials (presumably the hand of Dionysius himself) along the fibres of another sheet of papyrus, contains the beginning of a *βασιλικὸς ὅρκος* certifying this cession. The form and manner of this oath fulfil the conditions set out for a *βασιλικὸς ὅρκος* by O. Guéraud in his commentary on P. Enteux. 26, 5–6: it is taken by the sovereign, set down in writing, and made in a temple. Our text is an interesting illustration of the petitioner's phrase in that document *ἐχειρογράφησέ μοι ὅρκον βασιλικὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀρσινόης Ἀκτίας ἱεροῦ*.

Fragm. i, 13×33 cm. Top and bottom margin preserved, perhaps also left-hand edge, judging from l. 1.

Διονύσιος Ἀθηναγόρου, ὡς δ' ἐν τῷ στρατιωτ[ικῷ Νικόλαος Ὀνησίμου Ὀλούντιος Ἡρακλεί-]
[δ]ης Ἀπολλωνίου κ̣α̣ὶ Ζ . . . υ̣ τοῦ συντάξα̣ν̣[τος
ἀ̣μερίστους ἀργυρίου δραχμὰ̣ς δύο (γίνονται δραχμαὶ) β̣ [. .] . [διὰ]

χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου κατὰ μέρος ἀργυρίου πτολ[εμαϊκοῦ
ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἑρμίου τραπέζ[ης διὰ διαγραφῆς ἀργυρίου πτολεμαϊκοῦ δραχμὰς]
τετρακοσίας τόκων διδραχμῶν τοῦ μ[ηνὸς ἑκάστου τοῦ δανείου τού-]
του καὶ τῶν τόκων συγχωρῶ παρακεχ[ωρηκέναι σοι τὰς ἐκτιθεμένας μοι ἐκ τοῦ βασ(ιλικοῦ) μηνὸς]
[ἑ]κάστου ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς δύο καὶ ἀντ . . . [
[. . τε]τάρτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους δόσεως π[
. ους ἢ ἀμερίστους καὶ ἀσυλλοχίστους καὶ [
καὶ συστρατιωτικῶν πάντων καὶ μηδὲ [
[.] . τ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἴσα πράσσοντι τοῦ τὴν παράδ[οσιν
[ο]ὐδ᾽ ἄλλος ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ οὐδεὶς οὐδ᾽ ἐνκαλεῖ[ν
[ο]ὐδ᾽ ὑπόμνημα ἐπιδώσω οὔτε κατ᾽ αὐτῷ[ν οὐδ᾽ ἀντι-]
[λογ]ίαν συστήσομαι οὐδ᾽ ἄξῳ ἐπ᾽ οὐδεμίαν ἐξα[λλοτρίωσιν
[. . . . .] . [. . . .] . [*c.* 10] . [
[. .] ετω καὶ ἐπάναγκες ἐγὼ ἀποστήσω τ[ὸν ἐπελθόντα
[. .] ιν, ὁπόταν δέ μοι συντάξῃς ἐπικελευσ . [
[τῆς] εἴς σε μεταθέσεως ἐμοῦ τοῦ παραχωροῦντ[ος
[. . .] . σῃς ἃς ἂν αἱρῇ κατὰ τούτων [. .] . . [
[. . . . .] μου ἐπὶ τὰ παρακεχωρημένα μ . [
[. . ο]ὐκ ἐξέσται σοι οὐδ᾽ ἄλλῳ ὑπέρ σου οὐδέ[νι
[το]ὺς τόκους κατ᾽ οὐδένα τρόπον χειρογραφῆ[σα
[. . . . .] . . [*c.* 8] . [. . .] . δελ . αιπ . . . και [
[. . .] . δρ[α]χμὰς ἑπτὰ μηνῶν παρα [
[. .] οις σου πρᾶξαί με οὔτε τὸ δανεῖον [
[. .] παρὰ τοῦ Βερενίκης Ἀκτίας ἱερο[ῦ
c. 8] . [. . .] . [.] . [
[σ]υντακτικοῖς καὶ ὑπερθέτοις οὐδεν[
[. .] ταις οὐδὲ παραθῶ, σὺν δ᾽ ἀσυλλοχί[στοις
[. . .] . . . [.] . . . . [.] υ . . [.] . [.] . . . [.] . . [
[. . τ]ὸμ μῆνα ἕκαστον [.] . . . . [. .] . [
[. . τ]ὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον τὸ προγεγρα[μμ]ε[νον
[. . .] . . . . . [.] . [. .] ε . [. .] . . . . . [
[. . . . .] . . [
καὶ ἐπίτιμον εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀργυρί[ου δραχμὰς
ἀγωγιμοῦ ὄντος ὡς κεχρημάτικα, τ[ης πράξεως οὔσης ἐξ ἐμοῦ καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων πάντων]
καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης ἀκύρων οὐσῶν κα[ὶ [ὧν ἐὰν ἐπενένκω πιστέων ἁπασῶν σκέπης πάσης]
] . . . . .

Foot of column.

Fragm. ii, 13·5×17 cm., broken at foot.

Ἐν τῶι Βερενίκ[ης Ἀ]κτίας ἱερῶι
Διονύσιο[ς Ἀ]θηναγόρου, ὡς δ᾽ ἐν τῶι στρα[τιωτ]ικῶι Νικόλαος Ὀνησίμου
Ὀλούντι[ος τ]ῶν (πρώτων) φίλ(ων) καὶ ἐκ μαχαιροφόρω[ν] Ἡρακλείδηι Ἀπολλωνίου
Μακεδό[ι ὀ]μνύω τὸν [βασ]ιλικὸν ὅρκον [ἢ] μὴν παρακεχωρηκέ-

ναι σοι τ̣ὰ̣ς̣ [ἐκ]τ̣ι̣θεμένας [μ]ο̣ι̣ ἐκ τοῦ βα[σ(ιλικοῦ) ἑκά]στου μηνὸς ἀργ(υρίου)
45 *δραχμὰς δ̣ύ̣ο̣ εἰς τοὺς τ̣[όκους] τ̣ῶν ὀφειλ̣[ομένων] κ̣α̣τ̣ὰ τὸ χειρόγρα[φον]*
καὶ δια[γραφὴν] δ̣ι̣ὰ τ̣ῆς Ἑ̣ρ̣[μίου] τ̣ρα̣πέ̣ζ̣[ης ἀρ]γ(υρίου) δραχμῶ̣ν̣ τ̣ε̣τ̣ρα-
κο̣σ̣ίω[ν μηδ'] ἐ̣π̣ε̣λ̣ε̣[ύσεσθαι]..[ἀ̣]γ(υρίου δραχμὰς) δύο
]..οι̣[.]. κω [
Broken

40–6: 'In the temple of Berenice Aktia. I, Dionysius son of Athenagoras, known on the active list as Nicholas son of Onesimus, of Olus, first-friend and sabre-bearer, to Heracleides son of Apollonius, Macedonian; I swear the royal oath that I have assigned to you the two silver drachmae issued to me every month from the royal treasury towards the interest on the sums borrowed on a note of loan and a bank order payable through Hermias' bank for 400 silver drachmae and I will take no action against....'

1. For restorations, &c., see on l. 41 *infra*. The restorations tentatively made in ll. 5, 7, and 37 (40–4 letters), if correct, will hardly leave room here for restoration of the full description of Dionysius which occurs in ll. 41–2.

2. *Ἡρακλείδ]ης*, Papyrus: which points to the unexpected formula *ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις*. It is difficult to fit this second line into a standard prescript formula. Perhaps ⟨*τοῦ*⟩ *καὶ Ζ̣ω̣ί̣λ̣ο̣υ*?

3 ff. The contract seems to have mentioned the *παραχώρησις* first, leaving its details to be specified later; then the loan received by Dionysius, in two parts, viz. (1) l. 4, in cash, sum unknown, (2) l. 5, by a bank *διαγραφή* for 400 silver drachmae. Cf. the explicit contrast in ll. 45–6 in *κατὰ χειρόγρα[φον] καὶ δια[γραφὴν]*. The *παραχώρησις* is then set out in detail.

ἀμεριστοὺς: cf. l. 10. The word has not previously turned up in papyri, though cf. *ἀπομέριστος* which has recently appeared in P. Wien Boswinkel 6, 4 *μέρη β ἀπομέριστα*, 'separate'.

9. If the very dubious reading is correct, this will be Epiphanes 24, i.e. 182/1 B.C.

10. *ἀσυλλοχίστους*: cf. l. 30, *addendum lexicis*. LSJ. quote *συλλοχίζω* (cf. **590**) or *συλλοχάω*, 'to embody or incorporate soldiers'. Here *ἀσυλλόχιστος*, like *ἀμέριστος*, appears to be applied to the subject of the debt.

11. *συστρατιωτικῶν*: the adjective is not previously recorded. Possibly it concerns fees due to the soldiers' club, cf. **580**.

The restoration required is something like *καθαροὺς ἀπὸ ...] καὶ συστρατιωτικῶν κτλ.*

19. *μεταθέσεως*: cf. the use in BGU. 1771, 7 and 1802, 5 where the editors render 'Umbuchung'.

27. *Βερενίκη Ἀκτία*: of Berenice, consort of Euergetes, Zenobius wrote (III. 94, quoted in E. Visser, *Götter und Kulte im ptolem. Alexandrien*, p. 80) that in regret for causing her death Philopator built the famous *Sema* in Alexandria *καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν αἰγιαλῶν δὲ ἱερὸν αὐτῇ ἱδρύσατο, ὃ ἐκάλουν Βερενίκης Σωζούσης*. This cult of Berenice is no doubt commemorated in the Arsinoite village name *Βερενίκις Αἰγιαλοῦ* (P. Teb. II, p. 373), where it is not unlikely that the present temple of *B. Ἀκτία* stood. Cf. the somewhat similar cult name of Arsinoe Philadelphus, friend of sailors, who had a *ναίσκον* on the *ἄκρα* of Zephyrion: while P. Enteux. 26, 6 mentions a temple of *Ἀ. Ἀκτία*, not improbably in the Fayum, as the venue of an oath.

29. *συντακτικοῖς*: previously met only as title of an official (Grenfell & Hunt in P. Teb. I, p. 122) which does not seem in point here. *ὑπερθέτοις* (not in Preisigke, *WB.*) is cited by LSJ. only from Scholiast on *Odyss.* 3, 65 in literal sense of 'placed above'.

38. *ἀκυρῶν οὐσῶν κτλ.*: the phrase seems to invite restoration of the non-validity of *σκέπαι* as in the Alexandrian documents in BGU. IV.

41. *τῶι στρατιωτικῶι*: the latest discussion of this term is by G. T. Griffith, *Mercenaries of Hellenistic World*, pp. 125–6, who translates *οἱ ἐν τῶι στρατιωτικῶι φερόμενοι* of UPZ. 110, 103 as 'people on the active army list'. If Dionysius was, as he appears to be, a member of the royal bodyguard, the phrase also covers the mercenary soldiers. The reason for the army alias is not clear, particularly as both pairs of names are Greek.

42. *Ὀλούντιος*: of Olus in Crete, cf. Kirsten in RE. s.v. This is confirmation of the *Koine* form of the ethnic *Ὀλούντιος* previously first found in Stephen of Byzantium.

ἐκ μαχαιροφόρων: paired with the court title, this must mean Dionysius was of the royal bodyguard, cf. *οἱ περὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς μαχαιροφόροι* of BGU. 1190, 4 and also SB. 4206, 239 *ἐγλελοχισμένοι βα(σιλικοὶ) μαχ.* For Cretan

mercenaries stationed in Alexandria under Philopator cf. Polybius 5, 36, Griffith, loc. cit. 127–8. Later, Philometor recruited a special Cretan bodyguard, Polyb. 31, 17.

44. [ἐκ]τιθεμένας: cf. especially P. Petrie III. 93 R. vii. 22 *τῶν ἐκτιθεμένων ὀψωνίων*; UPZ. 110, 105 (*τῶν*) *τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τροφὴν μόλις ἐχόντων ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τιθεμένων*; BGU. 1747, 21 officials *οὐκ ἐκτιθέναι θέλουσι*, 'will not issue rations'. In the absence of complete information it will be well to beware of assuming that the very low figure of 2 silver drachmas per month represents the total of Dionysius' pay.

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586. DEED OF LOAN

Arsinoite nome. 10×24·5 cm. About 99 B.C.

PLATE I

The latter portion of a deed of loan for 53 talents and some thousands of drachmae in copper coinage carrying interest at 2 drachmas per mina per month made to one Demetrius, Persian of the epigone. Repayment is to be made to the 'lenders' (i.e. at least two persons: at the foot there are physical descriptions of two persons other than the borrower) or to 'the treasurer of the association to be appointed', *ὁ προχειρισθησόμενος τοῦ κοινοῦ χρηματοφύλαξ*. Both word and officer in this sense are new.[1] Presumably the loan is made, as an investment of its funds, by the association concerned (cf. l. 4 *κοινῶν χρημ[άτων*), and this supposition reciprocally supports the account given by **589**, esp. the phrase *ἐπίκοινα χρήματα*.

The main body of the document is written in a painstaking round bookhand with marked serifs on the feet of the letters, of considerable palaeographical service because it can be dated with reasonable certainty. The '16th year' mentioned in l. 12 can only be 99–8 or 66–5 B.C., and the subscriptions at the foot in a cursive characteristic of contracts of the turn of the century (e.g. P. Amh. 50, 106 B.C.; P. Adler G. 8, 104 B.C.; P. Ryl. 68, 89 B.C.) point to the former date as the more probable. It is of interest to note that when the contract was written the amount of loan was not specified, and a space was left in lines 5–6 and 10–11 in which the actual sum was later entered in a cursive hand. The papyrus shows signs of folding in antiquity.

. . . .
ἐπ]ι̣γονῆς γ̣[
Ἀφροδίτης Β̣ε̣[ρενίκης
ἀπὸ τοῦ συσ[
]. . κοινῶν̣ χ̣ρημ[άτων χαλκοῦ νομίσματος]
5 τάλαντα πεντ[ήκοντα τρία δραχμὰς . . .]
χιλίας τόκου [ὡς ἐκ δύο δραχμῶν τῇ μνᾷ]
ἑκάστῃ τὸν μ̣ῆ̣[να ἕκαστον. ἀποδότω δὲ ὁ]
Δημήτριος τοῖς δεδανεικόσ[ι ἢ τῷ προ-]
]. . ηι χειρισθησομένῳ τοῦ κοι̣[νοῦ χρηματο-]
10 φύλακι τὰ πεντήκοντα τρία τ̣ά̣[λαντα δραχμὰς . . .]
χιλίας τοῦ χαλκο̣ῦ̣ καὶ τοὺς τόκους ἐν τῶ̣[ι . . . . .]
μηνὶ τοῦ ἑκκαιδεκάτου ἔτους . ἐ̣[ὰν δὲ μὴ]
[ἀπ]οδῶι καθὰ γέγραπται ἀποδ̣[ότω ὁ]

[1] In LSJ. the word *χρηματοφύλαξ* is cited from Vettius Valens = the Roman *praefectus aerarii*.

[Δη]μήτριος τοῖς δεδανεικόσι [ἢ τῷ]
[π]ροχειρισθησομένῳ τοῦ κ[οινοῦ χρη-]
μ̣ατοφύλακι τὸ μὲν δανεῖον παρ̣ὰ̣[χρῆμα,]
τ̣οὺς δε τ̣όκους ἁπλοῦς τοῦ τε συ[γγε-]
γρ̣αμμένου καὶ τοῦ ὑπερπεσόν[τος χρό-]
ν̣ο̣υ̣ . ἔγγυος τῶν κατὰ τὴν συγγ̣[ραφὴν]
[πά]ντων εἰ̣ς ἔκτεισιν α̣ὐ̣τοῦ Δημη[τρίου]
[γυν]ὴ Ἀσκληπίας Σωσιβίου Περσ[ίνη με-]
[τὰ τ]ο̣ῦ̣ αὐτοῦ κυρίου. ἡ δὲ πρᾶξι̣[ς ἔστω]
[το]ῖς δεδανεικόσι ἢ τῶι προ[χ]ει̣[ρισθη-]
[σ]ομένῳ τοῦ κοινοῦ χρηματοφύ[λακι]
ἔκ τε ἀμφοτέρων καὶ ἐξ οὗ ἐὰν [αἱρῆται]
καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖ[ς πάντων]
καθάπερ ἐ̣κ̣ δίκης. κυρία ἡ συγγραφή.

(2nd hand) Σιμάριστο̣ς ὡς (ἐτῶν) ξ φαλακ(ρὸς) μακ̣[ροπρ(όσωπος)]
οὐ(λὴ) μετ(ώπῳ) δεξιῷ
Δίδυμος ὡς (ἐτῶν) νγ̣ ἀναφαλ(ακρὸς) μακ̣ρ̣ο̣π̣[ρ(όσωπος)]
τεταν(ὸς) οὐ(λὴ) ὑπὸ . . . . δεξ(ι).
Δημήτριος ὡς (ἐτῶν) λγ μ̣είω(ν) η̣ . [. .]
ἀστραγάλ(ῳ) οὐ(λὴ) ὄφρυ(ι) δεξ(ιᾷ) ἀλλὴ
ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτήν.

'(Simaristos and Didymus have lent to Demetrius, Persian of the epigone, of the village of Aphrodite Berenice . . .) from their . . . joint moneys, the sum of fifty three talents . . . thousand drachmae in copper coinage, the interest being at the rate of 2 drachmae a month for each mina. Demetrius is to repay the fifty three talents . . . thousand drachmae of copper to the lenders or to the treasurer of the association to be appointed in the month of . . . in the sixteenth year. The same Demetrius' wife, Asclepias, daughter of Sosibius, Persian, with the same as guardian, is to be surety for payment in full of all contained in this contract. The right of execution is to rest with the lenders or the treasurer of the association to be appointed against both or against whichever they choose, and against all their belongings as if in virtue of a legal decision. This contract is valid.'

(2nd hand) 'Simaristos aged about 60, bald, long-faced, scar on the right forehead. Didymus, aged about 53, bald, long-faced, smooth-haired, scar beneath the right. . . . Demetrius aged about 33, . . . on the ankle, scar on the right temple, another below the same.'

1. Something like γ[*ινομένῳ τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης* is required to fill the line. For the two villages *Ἀφροδίτη Βερενίκης* in the Fayûm, cf. P. Teb. II, pp. 371–2.

3. *Exempli gratia*, συσ[*κευασμένου κεφαλαίου τῶν*.

4. Traces of writing, perhaps in same hand, in left-hand margin. Opposite l. 9 below, where there are further traces, the name of the *χρηματοφύλαξ* may lurk.

5. From *πεντ*[to *χιλίας* in next line added in cursive, possibly by the same scribe who wrote the body of the document. Similarly in l. 10 from *πεντήκοντα* to *χιλίας*.

19. Demetrius is not surety, only his wife Asclepias: though Demetrius, if the restorations are right, is allowed to act at law on her behalf. Both, however, are the objects of the execution clause. For the relation of *κύριος* and *ἔγγυος* here involved, see the discussion and parallels quoted in L. Wenger, *Stellvertretung*, pp. 176–7. [This reference is due to Mr. A. Powell.]

587. DEED OF LOAN

Tebtynis. 15·5×26 cm. 9 February 87 B.C.

Loan by Paos, son of Onnophris, Arsinoite to Psillous and Peteesios and their mother, Persians of the epigone, of 2 copper talents, 2,500 drachmae for 5 months at 2 drachmae per mina interest every month. The loan is in the form of a *ἐξαμάρτυρος συγγραφή*, with scriptura interior and exterior (cf. SB. 7532, a close parallel, and the latest discussion of this type of document in introd. to P. Merton 6). It is worth noting that only the Egyptian name of the borrowers is used in the scriptura interior. On the verso opposite the foot of the scriptura interior are scrawls (all in the same hand) arranged in groups of three lines each as if they were meant to stand as seal attestations.

The document was folded in antiquity twelve times down its height, and later cancelled by oblique strokes terminating in flourishes. When the scribe cared to do so he could write an interesting and well-formed cursive, but he hurried over the ordinary formulae in a scrawl that makes no attempt to distinguish individual letters (what Wilcken, *Grundzüge* xlii, terms 'Verschleifung'), and these parts of his work can hardly be said to be read.

(1st hand) Ἐδ(άνεισεν) [Παῶς] Ὀννώ(φριος) Ἀρσι(νοίτης) Ψιλλοῦτι καὶ [[Ἀρμ[αιωι Πετ[εησίωι τοῦ
Ἀρμ[αί]ος ⟨τοῖς⟩ β καὶ ἡ μή(τηρ) Τερπῶς Πετώ[ιο]ς [Περσίνη
χα(λκοῦ) [(ταλ.) β] Βφ συγγραφοφ(ύλαξ) Ἡρακ(λείδης).

Βασιλέως Πτολεμ[α]ίου θεοῦ Σωτῆρος ἔτους τριακοστοῦ ἐφ' ἱ[ερέως] τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρ[ου καὶ
τῶν ἄλλων τῶν]
γραφομένων ἐν Ἀλεξα[ν(δρείαι) μ]ηνὸς Δύστρου ἐνάτηι καὶ εἰκά[δ]ι, [Τ ῦβι ἐνάτηι καὶ]
εἰκάδι ἐν Τεβτ[ύ]νει τῆς Πολέμων(ος) μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου. Ἐδάνεισεν
Παῶς Ὀννώφριος Ἀρσινοίτης Ψιλλοῦτι καὶ Π[ετ]εησίωι
τῶι καὶ Πετεσούχωι οἱ δύο Ἀγαθίνου τοῦ καὶ Ἁρμα[ίο]ς Πέρσαι
τῆς ἐπιγονῆς καὶ τ[ῆ]ι τούτων μητρὶ Μεθ . [. . . . τῆι καὶ]
Τερπῶτι Διονυσίου τοῦ καὶ Πετώιος Περσίνη μετ[ὰ κυρίου]
Ψιλλοῦ⟨τος⟩ τοῦ καὶ προγεγραμμένου αὐτῆς υἱοῦ [χ]αλ[κοῦ νομίσ-]
ματος τάλαντα δύο καὶ δραχμὰς δισχιλίας πεντ[ακοσίας]
τόκου ὡς ἐκ δύο δραχμῶν τῇ μνᾷ τὸν μῆνα ἕκαστον. τοῦ[τό δ' ἐστι]
τὸ δανεῖον ὃ εἴληφαν οἱ δεδανεισμένοι παρὰ Παῶτος εν τ[. . . . . .]
βλαβαμμ . . [. .]ν διὰ . η . . . . . τὸ δὲ δανεῖον τ[οῦτο καὶ τοὺς]
τόκους ἀποδότωσαν οἱ δεδανεισμένοι Παῶτι ἐμ μηνὶ Παῦνι τ[οῦ τρια-]
κοστοῦ ἔτους. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶσι καθὰ π̣ρ̣[ογέγραπται]
ἀποτεισάτωσαν οἱ δεδανεισμένοι Παῶτι παραχρῆμα τὸ μὲν δανεῖον [καὶ τοὺς τόκους]
ἁπλοῦς. ἔγγυοι ἀλλήλων τοῦ δανείου τού[του πάντων]
εἰς ἔκτισιν οἱ δεδανεισμένοι, τῆς δὲ πράξεως οὔσης Παῶ[τι τῶι]
δεδαν(εικότι) καὶ ἀπ̣ὸ τριῶν τῶν δεδανεισμένων καὶ ἀφ' ἑνὸς καὶ ἀφ' [οὗ ἂν]
αἱρῆται αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς· ἡ συγγρ̣αφὴ [κυρία. μάρτυρες]
Ἡρακλείδ̣ης Ἡρακλ̣είδ̣ου . . . . Ἀ̣ριστόβουλος Σώτ̣ου Η[. .] . [. . . . . .]
Μ̣έν̣ων Μ̣έν̣ο̣νος . . . . νίδης Ἀγάθινος Θιμ . . . . ν . . . . ν

25 Συγγραφοφύλαξ Ἡρακλείδης κεχρ[η(μάτικα)]
(2nd hand) Ψιλλοῦτις καὶ Πε̣τ̣[εή]σιος ὃς καὶ Πετεσοῦχ[ος]
οἱ δύο Ἀγαθίνου τ̣[ο]ῦ καὶ Ἁρμαίο[ς] Περσαὶ [τῆς]
ἐπιγονῆς καὶ ἡ τούτων μήτηρ Μεθυ. [2–3]
ἡ καὶ Τ̣ερπ̣ῶ̣[ς] Δ̣ι̣[ονυ]σ̣ίο̣υ τοῦ καὶ Πετ̣ώ̣ι̣ο̣[ς Περσι-]
30 νηι ἔχομεν τὸ δ̣α̣νεῖον τὰ δύο τάλ[αντα καὶ]
δραχμὰς δ[ισ]χ̣ιλίας πεντακοσίας τ[οῦ χαλκοῦ]
τόκων διδράχμω[ν ὃ] κ̣α̣ὶ ἀποδώσομε̣ν̣ [ἐμ μηνὶ]
Π̣α̣ῦνι τοῦ [τ]ρ̣ι̣ακ[οστο]ῦ ἔ̣τ̣[ο]υ̣ς καὶ ἐ̣ν̣ [. . . . . .]
Broken off

2. l. *καὶ τῆι μητρὶ Τερπῶτι, Περσίνηι* 8. l. *τοῖς δυσὶ, Πέρσαις* 10. l. *Περσίνηι* 30. l. *Περσίνη*

'Loan by Paôs son of Onnophris, Arsinoite, to Psillous and Peteësios sons of Harmaiis, the two, and to their mother Terpôs daughter of Petois, Persian, of 2 copper talents, 2,500 drachmae. Keeper of the contract Heracleides.'

'In the 30th year of King Ptolemy the god Soter, in the priesthood of whoever was priest of Alexander and the rest of the formula of Alexandria, on the 29th of the month Dystros, 29th Tybi, at Tebtunis in the division of Polemon in the Arsinoite nome. Paôs son of Onnophris, Arsinoite, has loaned to Psillous and Peteësios also called Petesouchos, the two, sons of Agathinus also called Harmaiis, Persians of the epigonê, and to their mother Meth . . . also called Terpôs daughter of Dionysius also called Petois, Persian, with the aforementioned Psillous, her son, acting as guardian, two talents two thousand five hundred drachmae of copper currency, at the interest of two drachmae per mina per month. This is the loan which the borrowers received from Paôs. . . . The borrowers are to return this loan and the interest on it to Paôs in the month of Payni of the thirtieth year. If they do not return it as prescribed, the borrowers are to pay to Paôs the loan immediately together with single interest. The borrowers are reciprocal sureties for all the provisons of this loan, and the right of execution is to rest with Paôs the lender against the three borrowers, singly or against whomsoever he may choose, and against their property. This agreement is valid. Witnesses: Heracleides, son of Heraclides, ..., Aristoboulos son of Sotas, ..., Menon son of Menon, ... nides and Agathinos sons of . . . . I, Heracleides, keeper of the contract, have transacted the business.'

'We, Psillous and Peteesios also called Petesouchos, the two, sons of Agathinus also called Harmaiis, Persians of the epigone, and their mother Methy . . . . also called Terpôs daughter of Dionysius also called Petois, Persian, have received the loan of two talents two thousand five hundred drachmae of copper at two drachmae interest, which we will repay in the month of Payni of the thirtieth year, and....'

3. The reading at the end of the line is a suggestion only.

4 f. The titulature has been hurriedly scrawled and the reading cannot be taken as certain. The *σω* of *Σωτῆρος* is clear, but it is not easy to see where *Πτολεμ[α]ίου* ends. It has seemed preferable to read *θεοῦ Σωτῆρος* rather than *τοῦ δευτέρου Σωτῆρος*. It seems there is no firm evidence for the use of the latter after Soter's restoration, while the former is clearly attested for 88 B.C. by W. *Chr.* 12, l. 10.

For the remainder of the formula (the Arsinoite form) cf. PSI. 1018, SB. 7532, P. Teb. 104, &c.

9. *Μεθ.*[: the woman's name clearly reads *Μεθυ.*[in l. 28. No suitable restoration is to be found from Preisigke's *Namenbuch*, who gives only *Μέθη* (as a woman's name) and *Μεθυσίων*. Pape, *Gr. Eigennamen*, records a name *Μέθυερ*.

14–15. Some description of the loan, its receipt, place (? *ἐν Τεβτύνει*]), through whom registered is to be expected. *βλαβ* at the beginning of l. 15 seems to be inescapable.

18–19. There does not seem to be room to insert *ἡμιόλιον* with *δανεῖον*. The scrawl at the beginning of l. 19 starts with *α*.

21–2. These readings are no more than guesses. In l. 21 *δεδαν* (without mark of abbreviation) *και . . . τ*(or *υ*)*ρι* and the two *και*'s at the end are fairly certain; so is *αιρη* and *η συγγραφη* in l. 22.

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588. INDEMNIFICATION OF LOAN

Arsinoite nome. 13×30 cm. 20 September 78 B.C.

PLATE I

Acknowledgement by Sochotes, son of Sesnosis, to Sosibius and Ptolemaios, sons of Protarchus, of the repayment of a loan of money contracted six and a half years previously. A point of great interest is the description in l. 8 of the repaying debtors as *Μακεδόνες* and the express statement that in the contract of loan they were described as *Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς*. This provides an effective demonstration[1] of the conclusion argued on general grounds by J. G. Tait (*Archiv*, VII. 180: cf. Zucker in RE. XIX. 913 ff.) that the designation *Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς* does not indicate Persian nationality or race or a population class, but is a legal fiction voluntarily submitted to by debtors, &c., in contracts, the effect of which was to provide additional security for the creditor. Tait conjectured that this practice was not an innovation of the Roman period, but was introduced under the Ptolemies; the present document shows that the date of its establishment can be carried back to February, 84 B.C. (the date of the original loan) and it was clearly not novel then. It can in fact be traced back farther to 105 B.C., the date of P. Reinach 25, a similar acknowledgement of a repaid loan, in which on the basis of this text, l. 3 should be restored

Μακ[εδόνι]
ὡς δὲ [πρότερον συ]γ̣γ̣ή̣λ̣λ̣αξε Πέρση[ι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς]
τῆς ἐ̣[πιγονῆς] κ̣α̣ὶ

where the line in black-faced type is an interlinear addition. Our thanks are due to Dr. J. Bingen for confirming the possibility of this restoration.

[Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου] καὶ Κλεοπά[τρ]ας τῆς καὶ [Τρυφαί]ν̣[η]ς
[τῆς ἀδελ]φῆς [θεῶν Φιλοπα]τόρων καὶ [Φιλα]δέλφων ἔτ[ους τετάρτ]ο̣υ̣
ἐ̣[φ' ἱερ]έως Ἀλεξά̣ν̣[δρου καὶ] τῶν ἄλλω[ν τ]ῶν γραφ[ομένων ἐν Ἀ-]
λεξ[α]νδρείᾳ μην[ὸς Δίου] ὀγδόηι Θωὺθ ὀγδόηι ἐν Πτ̣[ο]λ̣εμ[αΐδι]
Εὐεργέτιδι τ̣οῦ Ἀ[ρσινοείτ]ου νομοῦ. Ὁμολ[ογ]εῖ Σο[χ]ώ̣τη̣ς
Σεσνώσιος Ἀρ[σινοεί]της Σωσιβίωι τῶι ⟨καὶ⟩ Ψέλ[λ]ωι καὶ
Πτολεμαίωι τ[ῶι κα]ὶ̣ Πετεσούχωι τοῖς δυ[σ]ὶ̣ Πρωτάρχου
τ[ο]ῦ καὶ Ἁρμαί[ος Μα]κ̣εδόσι, καθὰ δὲ συνήλ[λα]ξαν
Π[έ]ρσαι τῆς ἐ̣[πιγον]ῆς ἀπέχειν παρ' αὐτ[ῶ]ν ὑπέρ
τε αὐτῶν κ[αὶ ὑπὲρ τ]οῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῶν [Πρ]ω̣τάρχου
το[ῦ] καὶ Ἁρμα[ίος τοῦ] Π̣ρωτάρχου χαλκοῦ νομίσματος

[1] Since this was written we note a similar position taken up by H. I. Bell in a note to P. Merton 10, 4, based on a comparison of descriptions in two sets of documents (P. Mich. Inv. 952 = P. Mich. V. 322; P. London Inv. 1893 and 1896). See also C. Préaux in *Chronique d'Égypte*, xxv (1950), p. 280.

τάλαντα ὀκτ[ὼ δρ]αχμὰς δισχιλίας πεντ[ακο]σίας
καὶ τοὺς τού[των] τ̣όκους, τὸ δανεῖον ὃ ἐδά[νεισε]ν
ὁ Σοχώτης τ̣[οῖς πρ]ο̣[γ]ε̣γραμμένοις κατὰ [συγγρα]φὴν
τὴν ἀν⟨αγ⟩εγρ̣[αμμένην ἐ]πὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀρχε[ῖον τοῦ]
τρ̣ίτ̣ου καὶ τρι[ακοστοῦ] ἔτ̣ους Μ[εχ]ε̣ὶρ πέμ[πτηι δι' ἧ]ς
ἐνεγράφησα̣[ν ἔγγυ]ο̣ι ἀλλήλω[ν] τοῦ δαν[είου τού]τ̣ο̣υ,
καὶ μὴ ἐπελ̣[εύσεται] μήτε αὐ̣[τ]ὸς Σοχώτ̣η[ς μήτε ἄ]λλος
ὑπὲρ αὐτ̣[οῦ ἐπὶ το]ὺς προγεγραμμένους μ̣[ήτε α]ὐ̣τοὺς
μ̣ήτε π̣ε̣[ρὶ τοῦ σ]ημαινομένου δανείου κυ[ρω-]
[θέντος ὃ ἀπ]έχει μ̣ηδὲ περὶ ἄλλου μηδέ̣[νο]ς
[τῶν διὰ τῆσδ]ε̣ τ̣ῆ̣[ς σ]υγγραφῆς σημανθέν̣[των]
[5 μηδὲ π]ε̣ρὶ ἑτ̣έρου ἁ̣π̣λ̣ῶς ὀφειλ̣[ή]μ̣[ατο]ς
[ἢ πράγματος] ἐ̣[γ]γραπτοῦ καὶ ἀγράφου [ἀπὸ τ]ῶν
[ἐπάνω χρόν]ων ἕως τ̣ῆς προκειμ̣[ένης ἡμέρας,]
ἐὰν̣ δ̣ὲ ἐ̣[πέλθηι], ἡ μὲν ἔφ[ο]δος καὶ ἡ ἔνκλ[ησις αὐ]τ̣ῶι
τε Σοχώτηι καὶ τ̣ῶι περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπελθόν̣[τι πε]ρ̣ί̣ τ̣ι̣ν̣α
τούτων κατὰ π̣ᾶ̣[ν μ]έρος ἄκυρος ἔστω καὶ π[ροσαπ]ο̣-
τε[ι]σάτω Σοχώ[τη]ς τοῖς προγεγραμμέ[νοις]
ἢ ᾧ̣ι ἂν αὐτῶν ἐπ̣έ̣λθηι̣ παραχρ[ῆ]μα ἐπίτ[ιμον ἀργυ]ρ̣ίου
ἐπισήμου δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας καὶ̣ τὸ βλάβ̣[ος].
ἡ συγγραφὴ κυρία πάντηι.

διὰ Πτολ(εμαίου) τοῦ Μαρρ̣ήους

(2nd hand) Ἡρακλείδης κ[ε]χρη(μάτικα) ἔτους δ Θ[ωὺ]θ̣ η̄

(3rd hand) Σοχώτης Σ̣ε[σ]νώσιος Ἀρσινοείτ̣[η]ς ὁμο-
λόγωι ἀπέχειν τὸ δανεῖον τὰ ὀ̣κ̣τὼ τ̣άλαντα
καὶ τὰς δισχιλίας πεντακοσίας δρ̣α̣χμ̣ὰς
τοῦ χαλκοῦ καὶ τοὺς τόκους καὶ ο[ὐ]κ ἐπ̣ε-
λεύσομαι καθότι προγέγραπται κ̣[α]ὶ̣ ἀνενή-
νοχα τὴν συγγραφὴν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀ̣[ρχεῖον τῶν] δε-
δανημένω̣ν. Ἔγραψεν ὑπ[ὲρ αὐ]τ̣οῦ
Πτολεμαῖος Π[τ]ολεμαίου ἀξι̣[ωθεὶ]ς διὰ
τὸ φάσκειν αὐτ[ὸ]ν̣ μὴ ἐπίστασθ̣[αι γρά]μματα.

Verso (1st hand) [(Ἔτους) δ Θωὺθ] η ὁμο̣λ[ογία] Σοχωίτου
(πρὸς) Σωσίβιον καὶ Πτο(λεμαῖον)

36 l. ὁμολογῶ 40, 41. l. δεδανεισμένων 45. ⸗, Pap.

'In the reign of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, also called Tryphaena, the sister, gods Philopatores and Philadelphi, the 4th year, the priest of Alexander being so and so and the rest of the formula as written at Alexandria, 8th of the month Dius = 8th Thoth. Sochotes son of Sesnosis, Arsinoite, acknowledges to Sosibius also called Psellus and Ptolemy also called Petesouchos, the two sons of Protarchus also called Harmais, Macedonians, but according to the terminology of their agreement, Persians of the Epigonê, that he has received from them, both on their own behalf and on behalf of their brother

Protarchus also called Harmaiis, son of Protarchus, in bronze currency eight talents 2,500 drachmae and the interest, being the loan which Sochotes made to the aforementioned according to the contract of loan registered at the same record office on 5th Mecheir of the 33rd year in which they were entered as mutually responsible for this loan; and neither Sochotes himself nor any other acting for him shall take proceedings against the aforementioned . . . either about the loan herein described which has determined and Sochotes has received back, or any other matter set down in this contract . . . or any other debt or matter written or unwritten in the past up to the present day. If he takes proceedings, the proceedings and the accusation made by Sochotes himself or by any other on his behalf concerning any of these subjects shall be completely invalid, and in addition Sochotes shall pay to the aforesaid or to any one of them against whom he proceeds an immediate fine of 500 drachmae of coined silver and the damage. This contract is valid everywhere. Drawn up through Ptolemy son of Marres.

'I, Heraclides have transacted the business, Year 4, Thoth 8.

'I, Sochotes, son of Sesnos, Arsinoite, agree that I have received back the loan of the 8 talents and the 2,500 drachmae of copper and the interest; and I will take no proceedings as is set down; and I have registered the contract at the record office of the borrowers. Ptolemy son of Ptolemy wrote for him at his request since he asserted that he was illiterate.'

(Verso, endorsement) ? date, then 'Agreement of Sochotes with Sosibius and Ptolemy'.

6. *Σεσνώσιος*: not in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, but a natural by-form of *Σανσνῶς*.
16. The 5th Mecheir, year 33 = 14 Feb. 84 B.C.

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589. LEDGER OF DEBTS AND SCHEME OF LUNAR MONTHS

Philadelphia (Arsinoite nome)? Height 15 cm. October, 180 B.C.

Seven fragments of a roll published by E. G. Turner and O. Neugebauer in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XXXII (1949), 80 ff., with plate of col. 9. The contents of the recto form at first sight a curious mixture. The first eight columns, the work of one hand but with corrections and marginal notes by a second, form part of an account of moneys due for recovery; beginning at col. 9 another hand has set out the method for finding 'lunar' new moons and drawn up a table of equivalents. The verso was later used for an account arranged by days of the month, of which parts of 15 columns can be traced, but the writing is mainly effaced. Col. 3 (in 4th hand) may serve as a specimen: [1] *προῄρηκε Ἀπολλώνιος* [2] *ἀπὸ τῶν εἴκοσι πέντε* [3] *ἀρταβῶν πέντε λο(ιπὸν) κα* (*sic*). From internal evidence the date is October 180 B.C. and provenance Philadelphia (see *Bulletin*, l.c., p. 82). In the original publication, to which the reader is referred, evidence was marshalled which suggests that the sums, &c., recorded in the first eight columns were debts due to an association or gymnasium; and further that the most important of these debts in money were in fact sums advanced by the institution in question to its members, at interest of 2 per cent. per month (the *[ἐ]πίκοινα χρήματα* of l. 85).

The astronomical section beginning in col. 9 is concerned with the determination of the character of lunar months by means of a 25-year cycle which states that 25 Egyptian years = 309 synodic months = 9,125 days. Though it is well known from the Almagest (VI, chap. 2 and 3), the importance of this cycle for ancient astronomy has emerged only with its recent discovery by O. Neugebauer in association with contemporary starting-points, the latest at

present known being of the time of the emperor Gallus (A.D. 251), and the earliest offered by **589**. In *Bulletin*, loc. cit., pp. 82–7, the relation of this new text to the cycle, the fresh evidence offered about the cycle itself, the relation between Egyptian months and signs of the zodiac given in col. 10, and the meaning of *νουμηνία κατὰ σελήνην* were discussed in detail by O. Neugebauer. It is plausible to assume that a complete list (*παράπηγμα*, l. 94) was given for a full 25 years period, i.e. about 1½ metres of additional text. Only after that is it possible to place fragment vii, mentioning Hermes, Demeter, Hephaestus in a way suggestive of a calendar of festivals analogous to P. Hibeh 27, and indicating a possible motive for combining in the same original roll a gymnasium's business accounts with a scheme for lunar months.

Column 1 (Fragment i)

				Traces
	c. 12			]..[
	.[			Φ]αμεν[ώθ
	Ἀρσά[κη]ν	(ταλ.) [α]	(δραχμὰς)	ρ̣κ̣
5	Π̣τ[ολ]έ̣μ[αρ]χον	[(ταλ.)] α	(δρ.)	ρκ
	Ε̣ὔ̣[φ]ρονα	(ταλ.) α	(δρ.)	ρ̣[κ]
	Π̣τ̣ο̣λ̣εμαῖον Π̣ερδίκ(κου)	Ϛ	(δρ.)	μ
	ἄλλω[ς] διὰ Μ[ε]νεκράτ̣[ο]υ	Γ	(δρ.)	[ξ]
	Με̣νεκ[ρ]ά̣την	Γ	(δρ.)	ξ
10	Τρύφω[ν]α̣ Κλειτορίου	Ἀ̣	(δρ.)	κ
	Χιων[ί]δ̣ην	(δρ.) ρ	(δρ.)	β
	(γίνεται) τόκος	φμβ		

Column 2

	[6] Φ̣αρμοῦ̣[θι			
	[6].			
15	[2?]νη[ν τ]ιμὴν τ̣[ῆς σ]τ̣ά̣-			
	θμης ἐλαίου κδ (ἔτους)			πε
	Ἀθη̣[ν]ό̣δωρον καὶ Ἀρτέμωνα			μ
ζ(ητῆσον)	Διοσκουρ̣[ί]δην	β−	(δρ.)	ι
	Κράτην	α		ε
20	Πτολεμαῖον Ἀμβ(ιλάου)	α		ε̣ (γίνονται) ρμε
	(γίνονται) τῆς διμήνου Ἀυκθ			
	πρ[ᾶ]ξον δὲ καὶ τοῦ Παχών			
	Ἀρσάκην	(ταλ.) α		ρκ

Column 3

	Π[τολέμ]αρ[χο]ν	(ταλ.) α		ρ̣κ̣
25	Ε̣ὔ̣[φ]ρ̣ο̣ν	(ταλ.) α		ρκ
	Π̣τολεμα̣ι̣ον Περ(δίκκου)	Ε		ρ
	Τρύφωνα Κλειτο(ρίου)	Ἀ		κ
	Χιωνίδην	ρ		β
	(γίνεται) τόκος υπβ			

25. l. *Εὔφρονα*

Παῦνι
Ἀρσάκην (ταλ.) α ρκ
Πτολέμαρ̣χ̣ο̣ν (ταλ.) α ρκ
Εὔφρονα ʼΓ ξ
Πτολεμαῖον Περ(δίκκου) ʼΕ ρ
Τρύφω[ν]α̣ Ἀ κ

Column 4 (Fragment ii)

Χιωνίδ̣η̣ν̣ [ρ.] (δρ.) β
(γίνεται) τόκος [υ]κβ
ʼΕπεὶφ
Ἀρσ̣ά̣κην (ταλ.) α ρκ
Πτο[λ]έμαρχ[ο]ν (ταλ.) α ρκ
Ε[ὔ]φρονα ʼΓ ξ̣
Πτολεμαῖον Περ(δίκκου) ʼΕ ρ
Τρύφωνα Κλει(τορίου) Ἀ̣ κ̣
Χιωνίδην ρ̣ β̣
(γίνεται) τόκος υκβ̣

Column 5

[Μεσορ]ὴ ὁμ̣[οί]ω̣ς
Ἀρσάκην (ταλ.) α ρκ
Π̣τ̣[ο]λέμαρχον (ταλ.) α ρκ̣
Εὔφ̣ρονα ʼΓ ξ̣
Πτ̣ολ̣εμα[ῖον Π]ερ(δίκκου) ʼΕ ρ̣
[Τ]ρύφων[α Κ]λειτο(ρίου) Ἀ κ̣
Χι̣ωνί[δ]ην ρ β
(γίνεται) τόκ[ο]ς υκβ
(γίνονται) τόκου ʼΒωλβ
διὰ Εὐμ(ένους) στ̣άθμης καὶ
ἕκ̣των ρμε

Column 6

(γίνονται) ʼΒ𐅆[οζ]
]α̣ιερεις̣ δεδ̣ωκώς
Ζήνων[ι ἕ]ως̣
[Πα]χ̣ὼν 𐅆[ο]
λο(ιπὸν) ʼΒζ
Πρᾶξον δὲ καὶ τ̣[οὺ]ς κ̣ε̣-
χρικότας ξένου̣[ς] ἀπὸ
Παχὼν ά ἀν[ὰ λ]ό̣γ̣(ον)
λ̣ ρν̣
Δα̣βρέαν καὶ Σέ[λευκον (?)]
περιλειμμ[άτων κ]

61. λο(ιπὸν): 𐅆 Pap.

Column 7 (Fragment iii)

Περ[ι]δείπνου τ̣ῆς Ἑστιείο̣[υ]
ἀδελφῆς πζ
Ἀ̣[πολ]λοφάνη̣[ν] ἐ̣ν Κ̣ρο-
κοδίλων Π̣[όλ]ει ϥη̣
(γίνονται) τλε (γίνονται) Βτμβ
Ζήνω̣[ν]ι α[. . .]κει Φα̣ν̣ο( ) [. . .] . . [. . . .] Πτολεμ̣[αῖον(?)] . των
εν . [. .] . . [. .]ηνησ[. . . . . ἐ]κ̣ατοστῶ̣ν̣ [ ] [. .]δαμι . .
χα(λκοῦ) ψη
Π[ρᾶ]ξον δὲ καὶ̣ τ̣ο̣ὺς ὀφε[ί-]
[λο]ντας ἔλαιο̣[ν] (γίνονται) Βκ
λο(ιπὸν) . .
Μενεκ[ράτ]την ἐλαίου
κο(τύλας) ι[.](τέταρτον)
Πτολεμ̣[αῖο]ν Ἀ̣μ̣βιλάου
ὑ̣δ̣ρ̣[ίαν] α¯ κο(τύλας) κ

Column 8 (Fragment iv)

[Ἀ]π̣ο̣λλοφάνην̣ ὑδρ[ί]ας .¯ κο(τύλας) ϛ (τέταρτον)
[. . . .]ρ̣ρ̣αμην ὑδ(ρίας) . κο(τύλην) α
[4–5] . ε̣α [ὑ]δ(ρίας) η κο(τύλας) δ [ ]
πρᾶξον δὲ καὶ [το]ὺς ὀφείλ[ο]ντας
[ἐ]π̣ί̣κ̣οινα χρήματα
(2nd hand)—ιβ Θωὺθ
ἀπέ̣[χ]ε̣ι Ζ̣ή̣ν̣ω̣ν̣
ἃς π[ρ]οσοφειλη-
σα πρ̣ὸς τὴν
πρακτορίαν
Ἀπολλοφάνου
(δρ.) [ ]
Σ̣αραπ̣ά̣μ̣μω-
ν̣ι̣[ ] (τ̣α̣λ̣.) . β
Ἀρσά[κη]ν (ταλ.) α (γίνονται) τν
Πτολέμαρχον (ταλ.) [α]

Εὔφρονα Γ
[Π]τ̣ο̣[λεμ]αῖον Περ(δίκκου) Ε̣
Τρύφ[ω]ν̣α [Ἀ]
[Χιω]ν̣[ίδην (δρ.) ρ]
(γίνονται τάλαντα) γ Γρ

Column 9 (3rd hand)

[βασιλε]υ̣ό̣[ν]των [βασι]λίσσης [Κλεοπάτρα]ς
[καὶ βασι]λέως Πτ[ολε]μαίου το[ῦ υἱοῦ θε]ῶν
Ἐπ[ιφ]ανῶν ἔτ̣ο̣υ̣ς α. παράπ[ηγμα τ]ῶν
κα̣τ̣[ὰ σ]ελήνην νουμηνιῶ̣[ν ὥς εἰσι κ]α̣-
τ̣ὰ̣ [τὰς ἡ]μέρας τῶ̣[ν] κα̣τ̣᾽ Αἰγυπ[τίους δωδε]κα-
μ̣ή̣[νω]ν τεταγμέναι, οὗ̣ ἐστὶν ἡ π[ερ]ίο-
δ[ος ἔ]τη μὲν εἴκ[ο]σι πέντε, μ̣ῆνες δ̣[ὲ σ]ὺν

3 l. προσωφείλησα

ἐμβ̣[ο]λ̣ίμ̣[ο]ις τριακόσιοι ἐννέα, ἡμέρ̣[αι] δὲ
ἐν̣[ακι]σ̣χ̣[ίλ]ιαι ἑκατὸν εἴκ̣[ο]σι πέντε̣. [σ]ῃ-
μαί̣[νε]ι δὲ καὶ τοὺς κατὰ σελήνην μ̣ῆ-
νας κ̣αὶ τ̣ο̣ύτων τ̣ί̣νες ἠσὶ πλήρη[ς] κ̣[αὶ] τ̣ί̣νες
κοῖλ[οι κ]αὶ π[ο]ῖο[ι] αὐτῶν ἐμβόλιμοι κα[ὶ ἐ]ν τίνι
ζω[ιδί]ωι ἥλι[ο]ς καθ' ἕκα̣σ̣τ̣ον μ̣ῆν[α στή]σεται.
ὅ̣[ταν] διέλθει τὰ εἴ̣κοσι π̣έ̣[ν]τε ἔ̣[τη] π̣άλιν
ἐπ[ὶ τὴ]ν αὐτὴν ἀρχὴν ἥξει καὶ τὸ̣[ν α]ὐ̣τὸν
τρόπ̣[ο]ν ἀλ[λάξ]εται. ἔστιν δὲ πρ̣ῶ̣[το]ν ἔτ̣ο̣ς
τῆς περιόδου [τ]ὸ̣ αὐτὸ τῶι πρώτω[ι] ὡ̣ς
βασίλισσα Κλεοπ̣ά̣τ̣[ρ]α καὶ β̣ασιλεὺ̣[ς Π]τολεμαῖος
ὁ υ[ἱ]ὸς θεοὶ Ἐπ̣ι̣φ̣[αν]εῖ̣ς ἄ̣γ̣ο̣υ̣σιν ἐν [ὧι] καὶ τὴν
βαση̣λ̣είαν̣ [π]αρ̣[ελ]άβοσαν. ὁ δὲ ἥλ[ιος] καθ[έστ]η

Column 10

μῆνα ἕ̣[καστον
Θωὺθ Σκ[ορπίωι
Φαῶφι Τ̣οξό̣[τηι
Ἀθὺρ Αἰγ̣[οκέρωι
Χ̣οίαχ Ὑ̣[δ]ρ̣[οχόωι
Τῦβι Ἰχθύσι
Μεχεὶρ Κρι[ῶι
Φαμενὼθ Τ̣α̣[ύρωι
Φαρμοῦθι Δι̣[δύμοις
Παχὼν Κα̣[ρκίνωι
Παῦνι Λέ̣[οντι] . . . .
Ἐπεὶφ Π̣α̣[ρθένωι
Μεσορὴ Χη[λαῖς

αἱ δὲ κατὰ σ[ελήνην νουμη]νίαι (Fragment v)
εἰσὶν ἔτους [πρώτου
Θωὺθ κ [ἡμέραι κθ]
Φ[α]ῶ̣φι ιθ̄ ἡ̣[μέραι λ]
Ἀθὺρ ιθ̄ ἡ̣[μέραι λ]
Χοίαχ ιθ̄ [ἡμέραι κθ]

Column 11 (Fragment v)
4 lines lost

Π̣[αχὼν
Π[αῦνι
Ἐπε̣[ὶφ
Με[σορὴ

Ἔτ̣[ους δευτέρου Column 12 (Fragment vi)

102. *ἠσί*, l. *εἰσί*; *πλήρης*, l. *πλήρεις*; 105. l. *διέλθηι*

140	Θω[ὺθ	ἡμέ]ρ̣αι κθ̣[
	Φαῶ̣[φι	ἡμέρ]αι λ̣ Π̣[αχὼν
	Ἀθὺ̣[ρ	ἡμερ]αι λ [Παῦνι
	Χοία̣[χ	ἡμερ]α̣ι κθ [Ἐπεὶφ
	Τῦβ̣[ι	ἡμέ]ραι λ Μ̣[εσορὴ
145	Μεχ[εὶρ	ἡμέρ]αι κθ Ἐ̣[τους τετάρτου
	Φαμ[ενὼθ	ἡμέρ]αι λ̣ [
	Φαρμ[οῦθι	ἡμέρ]αι κθ [
	Παχ̣[ὼν	ἡμέρ]α̣ι λ

2 lines lost.

Fragment vii, unplaced (same hand as Column 9 onwards)

[1]] . . [[2]] . ωι Ἑ̣ρμῆ̣[ς [3] τι δι[[4]]νω Δημή̣[τηρ [5]]ο̣ς Ἡφαιστο[ς
[6] κατὰ σελ]ήν̣[ην] νουμ[ηνι [7]] . [

1. At least one column is lost, as is shown by the total in l. 54 (tabulation in *Bulletin*, loc. cit., p. 93), probably the account for the month of Phamenoth. In l. 3 *Φ]αμεν[ώθ* must refer to a special entry similar to that in ll. 13–21. It cannot be a heading for the following ll. 4–12, where the month is Pharmuthi, and in any case the paragraphos forbids.

4–12 (reckoning of interest due for Pharmuthi): 'collect from Arsaces on 1 talent, 120 drachmae; from Ptolemarchus on 1 tal., 120 dr.; from Euphron on 1 tal., 120 dr.; from Ptolemy son of Perdiccas on 2,000 dr., 40 dr.; in sundry ways due through Menecrates, on 3,000 dr., 60 dr.; from Menecrates on 3,000 dr., 60 dr.; from Tryphon, son of Cleitorios on 1,000 dr., 20 dr.; from Chionides on 100 dr., 2 dr. Total interest, 542 drachmae.'

4. *Ἀρσάκην*: presumably a Persian. Entries are in the accusative after a previous *πρᾶξον*, cf. l. 22.

5. *Πτολέμαρχος*: cf. ll. 24, 32, 40, 48, 87. P. Fribourg, 34.

10. *Κλειτόριος*: cf. P. Cairo Zen. 59310.

11. *Χιωνίδης*: cf. ll. 28, 36, 44, 52, 91. Not in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*.

13–21. Sums due, reckoned for a two months' period, but obscure owing to mutilation of the head of the column.

15–16. [..]νη[ν conceals a name. *στάθμη*: verification or certification, as in P. Teb. 5, 88? The restoration seems certain in view of l. 55.

20. *Ἀμβ(ιλάου)*: expansion from l. 79 where *Ἀμβ( ) ἐλαίου* cannot be read. Cf. BGU. 1541 (Ptolemaic ostracon from Philadelphia), where editors suggest the name is a Macedonian form of the name *Ἀμφίλαος* (with *β* for *φ*). Mr. Skeat informs us that *Ἀββίλαος* appears in P. Lond. Inv. 2099 (Zenon papyrus from Philadelphia).

22–54. Reckoning of interest due for Pachon, Payni, Epeiph, and Mesore.

25. Ptolemaios has borrowed a further 3,000 drachmae.

33. Euphron has repaid 3,000 dr. in Pachon (not charged for during Payni).

55–6. *Εὐμ(ένους)* is a far from certain reading, but *στάθμης* (cf. ll. 15–16) and *ἕ̣κτων* (though enigmatical) seem unavoidable. After *Εὐ* there is room at most for two letters.

58–61. A deduction from the total, cf. l. 61. *ἀφ]αιρεῖν* cannot be read. It is uncertain whether the line was indented, and whether anything is missing before]*α̣ι*. The *α̣* (or possibly *ε̣*) is represented only by a linking stroke. Zeno (cf. l. 73, and margin of col. 8) was perhaps an officer of the association. For the name at Philadelphia in the early second century B.C. cf. P. Freib. 34. Edgar (P. Mich. Zen., p. 48) has suggested that he was a descendant of the famous Zeno.

62–72. Various other sums due for collection. *τ̣[οὺ]ς κεχρικότας ξένου̣[ς*: for *ξένος* used for non-members of a club, cf. e.g. P. Teb. 894, fr. 2, 5, &c. The phrase here suggests outsiders (non-members) who have used rubbing oil in a bathing establishment or gymnasium, while members were entitled to its use free, or else perhaps made *ἐλαιοχ[ριστία*, BGU. 1813, 12 (cf. Claire Préaux, *Économie royale des Lagides*, p. 402, n. 2). In

P. Oxy. 1413, 19 and 20; 1665, 5 (third century A.D.) *χρίειν* is used absolutely for 'supply oil' (for use in the baths).

66. *Δαβρέαν*: for the name cf. P. Teb. 793, 10; 890, 115, &c.

67. *περίλειμμα* is cited in LSJ., only from Plato, *Menexenos* 236.

68. For *Ἐστιεῖος* as name (if this is the correct interpretation and expansion) cf. P. Teb. III, index.

73–4. A later insertion in smaller letters by the same hand. In the right margin opposite l. 73 and below, another later entry by the same hand.

75–83. Quantities of oil due. Are these quotas (in arrear) regularly due from members?

80. *ὑδ̣ρ[ίαν]*, cf. 81–3, which, combined, make the reading fairly certain. The pitcher in local use as measure contained more than 20 *κοτύλαι*.

84–91. Money debts described as *ἐπίκοινα χρήματα*. Cf. Introduction.

In the right-hand margin under date 12 Thoth a second hand has made an entry relating to state of the accounts. For Apollophanes cf. ll. 70 and 80.

92–130: 'Year 1 of Queen Cleopatra and King Ptolemy the son, gods Epiphaneis. Table of lunar new moons, showing how they are related to the days of the Egyptian twelvemonth. The period of the table is 25 years, 309 months (including intercalary months), 9,125 days. It indicates the lunar months and which of them are full, which hollow, which intercalated; and in what sign of the Zodiac the sun will be during each month. When the sun has traversed the 25 years it will return to the same starting point and revolve in the same manner. The first year of the period is the same as the first year as reckoned by Queen Cleopatra and King Ptolemy the son, gods Epiphaneis, in which also they took over the kingdom. The sun stood each month as follows: Thoth in Scorpio, Phaophi in Sagittarius, Hathyr in Capricorn, Choiak in Aquarius, Tybi in Pisces, Mecheir in Aries, Phamenoth in Taurus, Pharmuthi in Gemini, Pachon in Cancer, Payni in Leo, Epeiph in Virgo, Mesore in Libra. The lunar new moons in the first year are: Thoth 20 . . . Phaophi 19 . . . Hathyr 19 . . . Choiak 19.'

92–4: for the date formula cf. ll. 108–10, and P. Frib. 12, 33; P. Teb. 822, 978.

παράπ[ηγμα: a tempting restoration (not too short for the space since all the letters are long ones) which gives an excellent sense, a good antecedent for *οὗ* in l. 97, and a good subject for *σημαί[νε]ι* in ll. 100–1. See Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[5], II. 142 ff.; A. Wilhelm, *Epitumbion H. Swoboda*, 344–5; A. Rehm, s.v. *Episemasiai*, RE. Suppl. VII; idem, *Parapegmastudien*, Abh. Bayerische Akad. d. Wissensch. phil.-hist. Abt., N.F. XIX (1941), 145 ff.

96. *δωδε]κ̣α|μή[νων]*: The restoration is a little long, but there is a great variety in the amount of room required for restorations. In l. 92 where exactly the same space is to be filled the restoration calls for 9 letters. *δωδεκάμηνον*, as Mr. Skeat points out, is well attested as a compound word.

108–10. *ὡς . . . ἄγουσι*: a formal and technical expression, cf. SIG.[3] 704, *I'* and *K'*.

The *ἔτος α* of Cleopatra and Philometor began probably in summer 180 B.C. The latest date at present known for Epiphanes is 20th May 180 B.C., according to T. C. Skeat, *Mizraim*, 6, p. 33.

117. From here onwards a thicker pen has been used, but the hand is the same.

125. *νουμη]νίαι*: the ends of ll. 123 and 125 are preserved on fragment v, which also carries the initial letters of col. 11. Assuming this scrap to belong to the column immediately succeeding col. 10, five months are lost between its starting point and the foot of col. 10. This brings *]νίαι* immediately opposite l. 125. Below l. 125 the papyrus carries the same left-hand margin, but no letters appear. Lines 126–30 are therefore at least four letters shorter than l. 125. For the restoration *ἡμέραι* $\overline{κθ}$ cf. line 140 and note.

140. The ends of lines of col. 11 are on another separate fragment (No. vi). If *Π̣[* of l. 141, *Μ̣[* of l. 144, and *Ε̣[* of l. 145 are assumed to be the initial letters of a new column (it is unfortunate that the scrap is damaged at the point where it might have shown a *paragraphus* between ll. 144 and 145, cf. 124–5 and 133–4), in that order they must represent the months as restored. By placing them where this new series is to be expected we obtain the correct positions for the ends of lines of col. 11.

590. RESOLUTION OF A σύνοδος

Provenance unknown. 11×12 cm. Cleopatra?

This document is in a tantalizingly tattered state: in addition to the loss of the left-hand side and foot, and a large central tear, many of the horizontal fibres carrying the writing have flaked off. Because of its importance, however, a complete transcript is given. It appears to contain a business resolution of a *σύνοδος* that cannot be more closely defined, meeting in full session (*συναγωγή*) in a Jewish house of prayer (*προσευχή*), under a president (?) and with its *γραμματεύς*. As an illustration of the use of these terms the first line was quoted in *Harvard Theological Review*, XXIX (1936), p. 72, n. 101. It must, however, be admitted that in the fragmentary state of the text, the only reason for supposing the *σύνοδος* to be Jewish is the choice of a *προσευχή* as meeting-place. To judge by the handwriting, a minute spidery cursive, the date is of the second half of the first century B.C. The appearance of Ptolemaic court titles is not absolutely decisive for a pre-Roman date (for their possible survival into the early Roman period cf. Schubart, *Aegyptus*, XIII (1933), p. 64), but perhaps the reign of Cleopatra is a safer guess. The court titles (see notes) are themselves of interest.

] .⁻ ἐπὶ τῆς γ[ε]ν̣ηθ̣ε̣ίσης σ̣υ̣ν̣αγωγῆς ἐν τῆι προσευχῆι
Δημητ]ρίωι τῶν [α]⁻ φίλων καὶ θ̣[υ(ρωρῶν)] (?) καὶ εἰσαγγελέων καὶ ἀρχυ̣π̣ηρε(τῶν)
]⁻ Κάμακος [. . .] . . [. . . . . .] ξ̣ [. . . . . .] . [. . γραμ]ματεὺς
. .] . . . . . [κ̣υον εἰς τὴν σ]ύνοδον
.]ου σὺν τοῖ[ς .] . . . . [. . . . . .] . ρασιος καὶ συλ̣λ̣ελόχισται
]ρ̣κως το ε . [.] . αλλ εμ̣[. . . .]υ ἐν τοῖς ἐρ̣χο . [.] . . . . . ντα̣ς
.]μ̣ε̣ δικαι̣ . [. .] . . . . . [. . . . . .] ε̣ιν ἐφ' ὧ̣ιτε ἐτεάς [.]ς
σ]υνόδου [ ] . φ̣ [.] . . [. . .]κ̣αιρ̣οις
.]ωι κ̣α̣τ̣' ἔ̣τ̣ο[ς .]ει επ̣τ̣ . [. . . . . .]ιου γ . ι̣λ̣ι̣ . . . ωι με[.]ε̣
.]ινων ε . [.]σ̣ου κ[οινοῦ (?) . . . ταφι]α̣σ̣τ̣ῶν ἐκ τῆς
. .]τ̣ε α̣τ̣ε̣[.] . πον [. . . . . .]φ̣αλλισμων κα̣[2–5]
] . ο τοῦ ἐσομ̣έ̣νου κα̣ι̣[νοῦ . . . . . οὐ]δ'[[ι]] ἐ̣ν α̣ὐ̣λ̣ῶ̣[ι 2–6]
. .]μαι Ευδ[. .] . ι̣ [12]τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ συνταφιά[στου]
. .]σεται [ο]ῖ̣ς π̣ρ̣ο̣σ̣[ήκει 7 γ]ρ̣αμματεῖ ἀκολ̣[ούθως]
.] εἰς ἱερο . [. .] . απ [12]ια τοῦ δελ . [
το]ῖ̣ς λει[του]ρ̣[γ 12] συνόδου τοῦ [
. . .] . . . . . [15] . θησεται ξ̣[
] α̣θ̣ε̣ς [

1. At the beginning probably date by year, month, and day. For the formula *ἐπὶ τῆς γενηθείσης συναγωγῆς* cf. e.g. BGU. 1137 (6 B.C.) or OGI. 737 (decree of the *πολίτευμα* of the Idumaeans). For a country *προσευχή* cf. e.g. P. Teb. 86, 8. Pagan *σύνοδοι*, of course, very frequently met in temples.

2. *Δημητ]ρίωι* is only a guess, and he is not identifiable. The length of line is not known, for the presumed date in l. 1 may have been written full or abbreviated, and the line may have been indented. It is not easy to say why the name here should be in the dative: preceded by e.g. *παρά*? Was Demetrius president of the synod? At least the resolution does not seem to have been an honorary one.

τῶν [α]⁻ φίλων: α is not visible, but the stroke above is clear, and the restoration is therefore certain.

θ̣[υ(ρωρῶν)]: there is space for only two letters between the two *καί*s. The traces of the first resemble *θ*,

though they may have been some sort of monogram. θ̣[υ(ρωρῶν)] is restored on the basis of P. Teb. 790, 1.

εἰσαγγελέων: cf. UPZ. 12, 1–4; 13, 1–4.

ἀρχυπηρέτης (the term is misleadingly treated in Preisigke, *WB.*) is hitherto known as an administrative rank ('senior paymaster') in the Macedonian (M. Feyel, *Rev. Archéologique*[6] vi, 31) and Egyptian armies (P. Cairo Zen. 59006, III, 52; SB. 599, 61 ; UPZ. I, 14, 97; Wilcken, Ostr. 1538; and see Feyel, loc. cit.).

3. At the beginning of the line a high horizontal stroke, which may be a mark of abbreviation, or a trace of a second date. *Κάμακος* (which might also be read *Κάλλακος*) we take to be a name. The rough transcript made by C. H. Roberts in 1935 shows some letters in these lines which are not now visible:

l. 3.]·⁻ καμακος .....ς επιφλυκας[ ]ματευς
]ον τεκ̣[ ]κ̣(or λ̣)υον εἰς τὴν σύνοδον

5. συλλελόχισται: to incorporate in the σύνοδος. Cf. the term ἀσυλλόχιστος in **585**.

6. το ε.[: after ε, perhaps either γ[or π̣[.

9. For τ̣ in]ει επτι[, ι̣ might be read.

10.]ινων ε.[.]σ̣ου: there is a blank space in the papyrus (for punctuation) after]σ̣ου. Nevertheless, possibly ἐκ̣ τ̣οῦ, or even ἐπ̣ὶ τ̣οῦ should be read, and κ[οινοῦ restored.

11. For φ in]φαλλισμων, β̣ might be read.

13. συνταφιά[στου] (cf. ταφι]α̣σ̣τ̣ῶν in l. 10) is a new word.

15. For ἱ̣ερο.[, perhaps μ̣ερο.[should be read.

591. PRIVATE ACCOUNTS

12·5×34·5 cm. Late third century B.C.

The first column of these accounts lists receipts, the second outgoings. They appear to deal with the affairs of a private estate, and there are general resemblances to the third century B.C. ostraca from Philadelphia published as BGU. 1500–62, but the absence of headings and the unresolved contractions make interpretation difficult.

Col. i.

Φαῶφι δ⁻ Κεφαι̣
ἂς τετε κ̀ οδL
ς̄ (λοιπὰς) κ̀ λ, (γίνονται) ρδL

κατὰ συγγραφήν
δι ( ) λεLγ΄ κ̀ λξ
κατεδι( )
ἄλλαι κ̀ καL
(γίνονται) [[ ]]
(γίνονται) κ̀ ρδL

ἀπ̣ὸ δι( ) λθL ίβ΄
καὶ κ̀ υνζγ΄ ίβ΄
c ɔ κ̀ ρδL
c ɔ δι( ) λθL ίβ΄
κ̀ νθLγ΄

Col. ii

ἔχει Φίλων χα(λκοῦ) (δρ.) σξθ
Φανίας ἂς μ̣ετη (?) ρνβ
Χοίαχ β̄ χα(λκοῦ) σκθ
(γίνονται) χν
Χοίαχ ς⁻ χα(λκοῦ) τν
(γίνονται) Ἀ (ὧν)
Φίλωνι [[.]] το (δρ.) σξθ
Ἡλιοδώρωι ψλα

. . . . χῳ̣ν οἶνον π̣ς
ἐξ ὠ̣ν̣ῶ̣ν̣ χα(λκοῦ) σ̣ν
ἕως Χοίαχ β κ̀ ς

ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῶι μαρσίππω[ι]
χα(λκοῦ) (δρ.) υ Χοίαχ ᾱ α̣π̣ι̣α̣λ̣ .
ῑ Ηρακλ . . . εται εἰς Χοίαχ ιβ
Σεμθεῖ χα(λκοῦ) . . . . α (δρ.) ν

3. *ô*, Pap. 5. (so 6, 10, 13) ϟ, Pap.

2. *κ̀*: a cursive *κ* with a letter above, sometimes an oblique down stroke, sometimes a mere dot which could be taken for an *ο*. *ἄλλαι* in l. 7 suggests *κε(ραμίδες)* as in BGU. 1514.

12, cf. 13: this symbol was made in two large half-circles.

26. *μαρσίππω[ι]* is reminiscent of Zeno's private accounts, but there is nothing to connect this account with him, and the handwriting is against it.

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592. LETTER ABOUT SHIPBUILDING TIMBER

Provenance unknown. 14×17 cm. Late third century B.C.

The contents of this letter concerns timber for shipbuilding. For cutting fresh timber an authorization is required from the *στολάρχης* of Agathocles, who must surely be the minister of Philopator and associate of Sosibios. Much of the writing is effaced or confused by earlier traces of ink, so that the address cannot be read, and it is impossible to determine whether the letter is a private or semi-official one. If the latter, the letter of Apollonius published by C. H. Roberts and P. M. Fraser in *Chron. d'Égypte*, 1949, 289 ff. is an interesting parallel.

Μ̣νη̣[.]σ̣[.]θ̣ . . τῶι πατρὶ κ[αὶ] κωμ̣ετι χαίρειν.
εἰ ἐρρωμ̣έ̣νοι οἱ ἐν οἴκωι πάντες καὶ
Βάκχιος εἴη ἂν ὡς̣ βούλ̣ομ̣α̣ι, καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ
ὑγί[αι]ν̣ο̣ν . . . ρων ἐνέτει[λα] Ἀνδρ[ον]ε̣[ίκωι]
ξύ̣[λα ἄ]τ̣εγκ̣τα τετρά̣γ[ω]να πέμ̣π̣ειν
ὧ̣ν̣ α̣[ἰ] μ̣ε̣τ̣ρήσεις ὑπόκεινται. ἠξίωσα
Διόδ̣ω̣ρο̣ν ὅπ̣[ω]ς̣ συντάξηι Γλαύ̣[κ]ω̣ι
[τῶι] Ἀγαθ̣οκ[λέ]ους στολάρχηι [ἵ]να
. κα̣[.] . τ̣ι̣[. . .]ν̣τα [. .] . . σμε . [. .]
παραδοῦν̣[α]ι̣ τῷ̣ι̣ Ἡλ̣ιοδ̣ώ̣ρωι τῶι προ[εστη-]
κότι τῶν Ἐπ . . οκλέους ὅπως πα[ραδόντος (?)]
τούτου αὐτὰ ἡμεῖς ἐκκόπτ[ειν δυνώ-]
μεθα . ἐπεὶ οὖν ὅτε ἐτρεφ[8–10]
ε̣ι̣[.]ηνπ[. . . η]νεγμένα ε[
Broken

Verso, along fibres Ἑρμοκλ̣ῆ̣[ς] . [.] . ε̣τ[τῶι]
πατρὶ καὶ κωμ̣εσ̣τ[

1. The address is difficult. Comparison with the verso suggests that l. 1 began with the 'father's' name, and the writer's was omitted. *κωμήτῃ* or *κωμαστῇ* is possibly intended at the end of the line.

3. *Βάκχιος*: certainly read. For this name cf. P. Petrie III. 32g, verso 9 and 13 (probably Euergetes I).

4. Perhaps *π̣α̣ρὼν*.

5. *ἄτεγκτα* = 'impervious', cf. Aristotle, *Meteor.* 385^{b}13, applied to *χαλκός*, rendered in LSJ. as 'not to be softened by water'.

8. *στολάρχης* might mean 'receiver of clothing' (cf. P. Ant. I. 33, 9), but in that case the connexion with timber and wood-cutting is not clear; for the sense 'commander of a fleet' cf. **558** in conjunction with SB. 6722.

9. *η* might be read for *τ̣ι̣*[, where a verb presumably lurks.

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593. BUSINESS LETTER

Oxyrhynchus(?). 7·8×18·5 cm. 6 August 35 B.C.

A short private letter dealing with business matters.

Ἀπολλώνιος Θοώνει
χαίρειν. περὶ οὗ σοι
ἐντέταλκα πόκου
μεγάλου π[. .]λου τῷι
ἐπιστάτηι τοῦ παιδίου
δὸς τῶι ἀποδιδόντι σοι
τὸ πιττάκιον αὐτὸν
ὧν μοι πεποίηκας
ἐπαγγελιῶν ἵνα μὴ
μέμψεις ἔχωμεν
πρὸς ἑαυτούς.
ἔρ(ρωσο) (ἔτους) ιζ β Με(σορὴ) ι⁻

3. l. *ἐντέταλκα*

'Apollonis to Thoonis greeting. With regard to the large fleece about which I instructed you, give it to the slave supervisor who is to return to you the actual memorandum containing your offers to me, that we may have no recriminations against each other. Farewell. Year 17–2, 10th Mesore.'

1. Thoonis is a common name in Oxyrhynchus (cf. **95**, 2 n.), which is therefore perhaps the origin of this papyrus.

4. π[..]λου: for π, ι or γ are also possible; for λ, δ, α, or μ. Perhaps a name, e.g. *Π*[*αύ*]*λου* (l. -ῳ).

12. For the explanation of this type of dating see T. C. Skeat, *Mizraim*, VI, p. 40.

IV. DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN PERIOD (GREEK)

594. TAXATION TOTALS FOR KARANIS

Arsinoite nome. 11·3×11·5 cm. A.D. 145–6 or 167–8.

Portion of the top of two columns from a tax-list setting out taxation amounts by villages 'for the 9th year'. The first column, containing ten complete lines, deals with Karanis; the second, of which only the beginnings of lines survive, and which is less easy to interpret, covers Psenarpsenesis. If, as is probable, the sums refer to amounts actually collected, this document may be regarded as a (*τοπαρχικός*) *λόγος λημμάτων ἀργυρικῶν κατὰ κώμας* as referred to in BGU. IX, pp. 83 ff. On palaeographical grounds the 9th year may be either A.D. 145–6 or 167–8, with a slight balance in favour of the earlier date.

The totals are of considerable interest, and on them may be based a rough estimate of the tax-paying population. For example, 38,312 drachmae were collected for *λαογραφία*: assuming a payment of 40 drachmae per head, this would give 958 payers. But there would of course be some who paid at reduced rates, and the taxable population of Karanis was probably over 1,000 males. This conclusion is confirmed by the figures for the *ὑική*. Assuming payments of $1\frac{1}{5}$ drachmae per head, $1{,}275\frac{1}{3}$ drachmae gives a total of 1,093 taxpayers. It is interesting to compare this result with the figures obtained by counting the names in the Indexes to P. Mich., vol. IV—about 690 names, plus 180 mutilated ones, all for Karanis. From the Indexes to BGU. IX Theadelphia appears to have had about 600 taxpayers at roughly this period. It is worth noting that at the date when this return was made there was only one Jew in Karanis.

Col. i

Καρανίδος θ (ἔτους)
λαογ(ραφίας) (ταλ.) ϛ ʼΒτιβ
ὑικῆς ʼΑσοε (διώβολον)
προθμείο(υ) β (δίχαλκον)
χειρωναξίο(υ) ϙ (διώβολον)
γερρῶν γ
ʼΙουδ(αικοῦ) τελέσμ(ατος) θ (διώβολον)
ἐλαϊκο(ῦ) [.]μυρο(υ) ʼΑϙ
ρ´ ᾱ (δρ.) λθ κηρυκ(ικῶν) ϛ (τριώβολον), (γίνονται) ʼΑρλε (τριώβολον)
τέλους θυιῶν ρπδ
[. . . .] . [. . . .] λ̣ [. .] κ̣α̣ (ὀβολός)
] (διώβολον)
. . . . . .

Col. ii

Ψεναρψε(νήσεως) θ (ἔτους)
ς (ἥμισυ) (πυροῦ) ῃ γη( ) .[
15 π̣υ̣ρ̣ο̣ῦ̣ ρζ (ἥμισυ) κ̣ῳ̣[
π̣β̣ (πυροῦ) δ κ΄ο΄ [
ἀργυρικ(ῶν) ἐλαιω( ) λο[
β (δραχμῶν) δια̣( ) Ἡρακ( ) Παπνω( ) κ[
τιμῆς πυροῦ τ[
20 Εὐθήνιον πρασ[
ἀργ(υρίου) (ταλ.)[

Space

Ἀπολλωνίο(υ) καὶ Π [
. . . κ̣( ) ὁρμοφυλ( ) [
. [. . .] . μυρο(υ) . υλ( ) [

Space

25 Α̣[. . .] κ̣ῳ̣ [
. . . .

14. ςLϮη, Pap. 18. βʃ, Pap.

4. *προθμείο(υ)*: Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 152, sums up what is known, under the rubric *πορθμοφυλακία* (the expansion is due to Grenfell and Hunt). But it is worth noting that the same orthography recurs in BGU. 1894, 55 where papyrus also has *προθμείου*; cf. also PSI. 808, 2 and P.Oxy. 2195, 73.

6. *γερρῶν*: see P. Mich. IV. 223, 1469 and 2320; 224, 38 and 204; 225, 1137. The varying orthography makes it clear that both *γερρῶν* and *γερῶν* are from a nominative plural *γέρα*, and the reference is to a tax on the perquisites of priestly office. Kortenbeutel's note on BGU. 1894, 57 is therefore to be rejected. Only partial information is available in Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 253. It is clear from P. Mich. IV that the amount collected varies.

7. 9 dr. 2 obols tacitly includes 1 dr. for *ἀπαρχή*: Wallace, loc. cit., p. 170.

8. The reading and therefore the nature of the tax is uncertain. Line 24 below seems to refer to the same impost. So also probably the impost in P. Fay. 42a, col. i, 15 read by the editors as ε̣...ο̣υ̣ μυ̣ρ( ). A relatively large sum is concerned, to which 1 per cent. tax and crier's fee is added.

9. *ρ΄ α⁻* is presumably for (*ἑκατοστῆς*) (*μιᾶς*), and the total, 1,135½ squares with the previous line. But it is not clear how 39 drachmae is a *ἑκατοστή* of 1,090 dr. The figure in ll. 8 and 9 can hardly be read as Δ instead of Α; it is exactly similar to the Α of l. 3. Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 231–2, sums up the information available concerning money *ἑκατοσταί*. A reference to BGU. 1894, 9 (and elsewhere) should be added. Kortenbeutel, ad loc., supposes the symbols *ρ⊦α⁻* there to mean 1 drachma per 100; cf., however, ibid. l. 83 *ρ⊦δ⁻* and *ρ⊦βα⁻*.

10. *τέλος θυιῶν*: cf. Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 186; P. Aberdeen 35; BGU. 1894, 37.

19. *τιμῆς πυροῦ*: governmental sale or *adaeratio* of a tax? Cf. **186**, 6.

24. *φυλ( )* might perhaps be read, but if so the *φ* is made differently from that in *ὁρμοφυλ( )* l. 23.

595. LIST OF MISSING PERSONS

Arsinoite nome. 121·5×29 cm. A.D. 57.

The recto of this list (under the description P. Ryl. Gk. Inv. 823) was made available to H. I. Bell for his paper 'The Economic Crisis in Egypt under Nero' published in *JRS.* XXVIII (1938), 1 ff. It is one of a collection of three documents which reveal grave defects during the early years of Nero's principate in the administration of Egypt, a part of the empire which clearly knew no *quinquennium Neronis*.

Of these three documents, P. Graux 2 (= SB. 7462), the first to be published, is an appeal to the prefect Balbillus (date therefore between A.D. 55 and 59) by six *πράκτορες λαογραφίας* from six villages in the Heraclid meris of the Arsinoite nome requesting that owing to serious defaults by absentee taxpayers the strategus Asinianus should not press for a full discharge of their liabilities until the prefect held his *διαλογισμός* in the nome. One of these *πράκτορες* is Nemesion, who drew up **595**. The second document is P. Cornell 24, in the same hand as **595**,[1] also originating from Nemesion (though he here uses the title *λογευτὴς λαογραφίας*, not *πράκτωρ*), which contains a list of 44 persons described as *ἄποροι ἀνεύρετοι* who were in arrear with poll-tax and dyke-tax at July, A.D. 56 (Epiph in Nero's 2nd year). **595** then carries the story forward to October A.D. 57 (Neos Sebastos in Nero's 4th year), when the total of persons missing reached the high figure of 105. Comparison with the figures for the tax-paying population at Karanis in the second century contained in **594** suggests that this amounted to 10 per cent. or over of the male inhabitants of Philadelphia. Indications on the verso of our papyrus suggest that the trouble had already begun during the later years of Claudius.

595 begins by setting out total amounts due at the date in question; for *λαογραφία*, 4,728 drachmas, 3 obols; for *ὑική*, 121 dr., 1 obol; for *χωματικόν*, 1,100 drachmas. These totals are repeated, with variations in the figure for obols, at ll. 123, 131, 186. The following nine columns then set out the names of individual defaulters under various headings, and the amount of their debt. The totals gained by addition do not in fact square with the totals given, nor are individual debts for *ὑική* recorded, so that the arrears for this tax must have been calculated at a flat rate throughout. In l. 123 the total number of names is given as 105, which will agree with the number actually recorded only on the assumption (which is possible) that a complete line has been lost at the top of col. vi. On the other hand, 121 dr. 1 obol as total for *ὑική* is correct as a payment by 104, not 105 persons.

The various headings are: l. 11, *ἀνακεχωρηκότων ἀπόρων ἐν ἀπὸ τοῦ α (ἔτους)*, 'missing without means under the rubric "c.o. from year 1"', total 43 names. It may be noted that of the 44 missing persons listed in P. Cornell 24, 34 recur in **595**. Thirty-one of them reappear under this first heading, that is, they are still missing in Nero's year 4, though 10 have now returned to civil life. Three appear under later headings (ll. 112, 116, 140), implying return and at least partial payment of arrears. The second heading (l. 57) runs: *ἄλλων ἀνακεχωρηκότων ἀπὸ Παῦνει τοῦ προκι(μένου) (ἔτους) εἰς ἀγνοουμένους τόπους*, 'other persons who fled in Payni,

[1] The identity was assumed by H. I. Bell (*JRS.*, loc. cit., p. 8, n. 25) and is confirmed by examination of a photograph kindly put at our disposal through the courtesy of Professor W. L. Westermann. Line 1 in the Cornell papyrus should read *παρ[ὰ] Νεμεσίωνος*. It is fair to add that this reading could not have been reached without the help of **595**.

of year 1 to places unknown', and contains 55 names. The third heading, partly defaced, begins (l. 114) *ἐστραγευμένοι τῶι* [. . .]*μη*[*νὶ*] *Σεβαστῶι οὗς μηδὲν* .[..] ( ), 'defaulters in year . , month of Sebastos, whom . . .', and contains 7 names. In l. 123 the totals are repeated.

From here to the end of the papyrus other outstanding arrears are set out: ll. 125–31, arrears from 4 persons who died in September A.D. 55 still owing half a year's taxes; ll. 133–85, 47 persons who had returned from flight, paid their poll-tax, and been excused payment of dyke-tax by the royal scribe (the one measure of mercy and remission recorded in this desperate situation). Nemesion, however, sets out their names as defaulters, probably because the obligation to produce these funds had not passed from him.

On the verso, in a different hand, are nine columns of further lists dealing with the same affair. No figures are set against the names in this case. The writing is badly effaced and difficult to read, and we print only col. i with a description of the following columns. The first column purports to be an account of the state of arrears and number of missing persons carried over at the death of Claudius. The erasure of δ and substitution of *α* before (*ἔτους*) in l. 191 was deliberate, and in the damaged heading of l. 198 at least *ιδ* (*ἔτει*) is clear. On the other hand, the total amounts in ll. 194–6 are identical with those in recto col. i, which arouses a suspicion fortified by the many erasures that the verso contains rather a number of rough notes bearing on the affair than a finished account. No doubt the *διαλογισμός* envisaged in P. Graux 2 would require a considerable number of supporting documents in evidence, and it is possible that both **595** and P. Cornell 24 are part of such a dossier.

It is worth recording that though both **595** and P. Cornell 24 are official documents, there are differences between them of more than orthography where almost certainly the same persons are concerned which do not speak very highly for standards of official accuracy (ll. 16, 41, 45 notes). As regards the distinction between *πράκτωρ* and *λογευτὴς λαογραφίας*, it has recently been argued by H. Henne that there is identity of function, the title *λογευτής* being retained from the Ptolemaic period. Professor W. L. Westermann, however, questions whether a distinction may not have been maintained between *λογευτής* as tax-accountant and *πράκτωρ* tax-collector.

Recto Col. i

Παρὰ Νεμεσίω̣νο̣ς πράκτορος λα-
ογραφείας Φειλα̣δ̣ε̣λφείας. ὀφείλε-
ται εἰς μῆνα Νέον Σεβαστὸν τοῦ
δ (ἔτους) Νέρωνος Κλα̣υ[δ]ίου Καίσαρος
Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανι[κοῦ] Αὐτοκρ̣[ά]τ̣ορος
λαογραφία καὶ ὑικὴ καὶ χ̣ω̣μα-
τ̣ικ̣ὸν τοῦ (αὐτοῦ) (ἔτους).

λαογραφεία	*(δραχμαὶ) ᾽Δψ̣κ̣η (τριώβολον)*
ὑικὴ	*[[(δραχμαὶ) ρκα (ὀβολός)]]*
χωματικὸν	*(δραχμαὶ) Ἀρ*

ὧν ἀνακεχωρηκότων ἀπόρων
ἐν ἀπὸ τοῦ α (ἔτους)
ὧν τὸ κατ᾽ ἄνδ(ρα)

	Ἡρακλῆς	Πεούριος	[(δρ.)] με (διώβολον) χω(ματικὸν) (δρ.) ς (τετρώβολον)
15	Ὧρος	Πνεφερῶτ[ο]ς	[(δρ.)] με = χω(ματικὸν) (δρ.) ςF
	Ὀννῶφρις	Ἀ . . . νιου	[(δρ.)] με = χω(ματικὸν) (δρ.) ςF
	Φάσις	Ἀτρήους	(δρ.) με = χω(ματικὸν) (δρ.) ςF
	Φάσεις	Φάσ̣ε̣ιτος	
	Φάσεις	νἱὸς	
20	Ἀρφαῆσις	Ἀ̣ν̣ο̣υ̣β(ίωνος)	
Col. ii	Σαμβᾶς ὁ κ(αὶ) Ἰσχεῖς	Ἰσχεῖτ̣ο̣(ς)	
	Φάεις	Φάειτ̣ο(ς)	(δρ.) μ̣ε̣ = χω(ματικὸν) (δρ.) ςF
	Πολυφάντ(ης)	Πολυφάντο(υ)	(δρ.) μ̣[ε] = χω(ματικὸν) (δρ.) ςF
	Ὧρος	Ἀπολλωνίου	(δρ.) μ̣ε̣ = χω(ματικὸν) (δρ.) ςF
25	Ὀννῶφρις	Ἀπολλωνίο(υ)	(δρ.) με = χω(ματικὸν) (δρ.) ςF
	Φαῆσις	Ἀπολλω[ν]ίο(υ)	
	Ὀννῶφρις	Πουῴρεος	
	Ἀρφαῆσις	Ἀρφαήσεως	
	Πυλάδη(ς)	Ἡρακλήου	
30	Πεμσᾶς	Ἡρακλήου	
	Παγκράτη(ς)	Ἀρυώτου	
	Πεβῶς	Ἡρακλήου	
	Ἡρακλῆς	νἱὸς	
	Ἡρακλῆς	ἄλλο(ς) νἱὸ(ς)	
35	Κάλλεις	Ἀρφαήσεω(ς)	
	Κάλλεις	Ἀρφαήσεω(ς) ἄλ(λου)	
	Ἡράκλη̣ο(ς)	Πετεσούχ(ου)	
	Τεῶς	῞Ωρου	
	Πειναῦς	῞Ωρου	
40	Σαμβᾶς	῞Ωρου	
Col. iii	Παχνοῦβ(ις)	Πεήρεως	
	῾Ωρος	Ἀβῖτος	
	Πετεμο(ῦνις)	Ἀκουσιλάο(υ)	
	Πετεσοῦχ(ος)	Πετεσούχ(ου)	
45	Ζωίλος	Θέωνο(ς)	
	Ἀτρῆς	Κεφάλωνο(ς)	
	Πεῆρις	Πτόλλιδο(ς)	
	Πραξέας	Ἀρπαήσεω(ς)	
	Ἡράκλη(ος)	Ἡρακλή(ου)	
50	Πατῆβ(ις)	Κεφάλω(νος)	
	Ἡράκλη(ος)	Μύσθ(ου)	
	Πετεσοῦχ(ος)	Μύσθ(ου)	
	Νεκφερῶς	῞Ωρο(υ)	
	Ὀννῶφρις	Πετεμο(ύνιος)	
55	Ἀπολλώνις	Λάγω̣τ̣ο(ς)	

	Πεμά̣ις	Πεώτο(υ)	(δρ.) με = χω(ματικὸν) (δρ.) ϛϝ
	ἄλλων ἀνακεχωρηκότων ἀπὸ Παῦνει		
	τοῦ προκι(μένου) (ἔτους) εἰς ἀγνοουμένους τόπους		
	Ἁρυώτη(ς)	Ἁρψήμεως	(δρ.) με = χω(ματικὸν) (δρ.) ϛϝ
	Πετεσοῦχ(ος)	Πετεσούχ(ου)	
Col. iv	Ἁτρῆς	Πατύνεως	
	Δῖος	Σατ̣[αβο]ῦ̣το(ς)	
	Πετεσοῦχ(ος)	Νεκφερῶτο(ς)	
	Ψενοβάσ̣τ̣ι̣ς	Πετερμόυθ(ιος)	
	Ἰσχυρίων	Ἰσχυρίω(νος)	(δρ.) μδ χω(ματικὸν) (δρ.) ϛϝ
	Παποντῶς	Ἡλιοδώρο(υ)	
	Διοσκοῦς	Σαμβᾶτο(ς)	(δρ.) μδ (ὀβολός) χω(ματικὸν) (δρ.) ϛϝ
	Ἑριεῦς	Σαμβ(ᾶτος)	(δρ.) με = χω(ματικὸν) (δρ.) ϛϝ
	Πετεσοῦχ(ος)	Πετεσο̣ύχ(ου)	
	Τρύφων	Μέλανο(ς)	
	Πτολεμάις	Παμου . ( )	
	Σαμβᾶς	Ἀρχεδή(μου)	
	Σάντωρος	Τιθουήο(υ)	
	Ὧρος	Ἁρπαή(σεως)	
	Ἡράκλη(ος)	Ὥρου	
	Δῖος	Θέωνο(ς)	
	Μυσθᾶς	Μύσθο(υ)	
	Ἡράκλη(ος)	Ἡρώδο(υ)	
	Ὡρίων	Πετεσούχ(ου)	
	Κὀλλοῦθ(ος)	ἀδελφὸς	
Col. v	Πο[ ]	Πανο̣ύ̣β(ιος)	(δρ.) μ̣[ε = χω(ματικὸν) (δρ.) ϛϝ]
	[Ἰ]σχ̣εῖς	Ὥρου	(δρ.) με = χω(ματικὸν) [(δρ.) ϛϝ]
	Ἡρᾶς	Ἡρᾶτος	(δρ.) με = χω(ματικὸν) (δρ.) ϛϝ
	Δῖος ὁ εκ( ) μεκ( )	Πεκήωνο(ς)	
	Πετεσοῦχος	Ἐκώρι̣ος	
	Σισόις	Ὀννώφρεω(ς)	
	Ἰσίων	Σαμβ(ᾶτος)	
	Σαμβᾶς	Μαρρήους	
	Παελλῆ(ς)	. ανιλουθ(ου)	
	Ἁτρῇς	Σενήους	
	Μυσθᾶς	Π̣ετεχῶ(ντος)	
	Ἰβίων	Μυρήο(υς)	
	Φίλων	Πα̣μφρή(μμιος)	
	Χράτη(ς)	Πετεσούχ(ου)	
	Τρύφων	Μέλανο(ς)	
	Ἡρᾶς	Ἀθηναίο(υ)	
	Ἡράκλη(ος)	Ἀνουβ(ίωνος)	
	Ἐργεῦς ὁ̣ κ̣(αὶ) Σισόις	Ἐργ(έως)	

	Ἰσχεῖς	Ἰσχεῖτος	(δρ.) με = χω(ματικὸν) (δρ.) ϛF
	100 Κάλλεις	Ἀτρήους	| |
	Ἡ[ρ]άκλη(ος)	Ἰσχυρίω(νος)	| |
	Ἡράκλη(ος)	Πεήρεω(ς)	| |
	Φάεις	Ἀρυώτο(υ)	| |
Col. vi	[		]
	105 [.] . . [. .] . . [	] . .	(δρ.) μ[ε = χω(ματικὸν) (δρ.) ϛF]
	. . [ ]	Τ̣ᾳ̣ . . .	(δρ.) με = [χω(ματικὸν) (δρ.) ϛ]F
	. ιονν .	Κ̣ε̣φάλω(νος)	(δρ.) με = χω(ματικὸν) (δρ.) ϛF
	Μυσθᾶς	Ἡρᾶτο(ς)	| |
	Ἐκῶρις	Ἐκώρο(υ)	| |
	110 Ἀκουσίλ(αος)	Πνεφερῶ(τος)	(δρ.) με = χ̣[ω(ματικὸν) (δρ.)] ϛ̣F
	Δῖος	Φαείτο(ς)	(δρ.) με = χ̣[ω(ματικὸν) (δρ.) ϛF]
	Προτίω(ν)	Πραξέο(υ)	(δρ.) μ[ε =]χω(ματικὸν) (δρ.) ϛ[F]
	Ὧρος	Ὡρίωνος	(δρ.) μ[ε =]χω(ματικὸν) (δρ.) ϛ[F]
		ἐ̣στραγευμένοι τῶι [. . .] μη[νὶ]	
	115	Σεβα̣σ̣τ̣ῷι ο̣ὗ̣ς μηδὲν . [. .] ( )	
	Σ̣αταβοῦς	Ὡρίωνος	[(δρ.) μ]ε = χ̣ω̣(ματικὸν) [(δρ.) ϛF]
	Ἡράκλη(ος)	Δίου	δρ. με = χω(ματικὸν) (δρ.)ϛ [F]
	Πετεσοῦχ(ος)	Πανῆ[τ(ος)]	| |
	Νεφερῶς	Παψ(ώιτος) (?)	[(δρ.) με =]χ̣ω̣(ματικὸν) (δρ.) [ϛF]
	120 Ἁρμιῦσι(ς)	Πετερμ(ούθιος)	(δρ.) μ̣ε = χ̣ω̣(ματικὸν) [(δρ.) ϛF]
	Ὄκτωρ	Φάειτ(ος)	(δρ.) μ̣ε = χω(ματικὸν) [(δρ.) ϛF]
	Σαμβᾶς	Ἁρφαή(σεως)	(δρ.) μ̣[ε = χω(ματικὸν) (δρ.) ϛF]
		(γίνονται) ἄνδρες ρε λαογρα(φίας) ⟨(δραχμαὶ)⟩ Ἀ̣[ψκη] (διώβολον)	
		ὑικῆς (δρ.) ρκα (διώβολον)	
Col. vii	125	Τ̣ε̣τελευτηκότες β (ἔτους)	
		μη(νὶ) Σεβαστῶι	
	Μυσ[θ]ᾶ̣ς	Παν̣ομ̣ι̣έ̣(ως)	(δρ.) κβF
	Σωτ̣ . . ας	Ἁρψήμ̣ι̣(ος)	(δρ.) κβF
	Ὧρ̣ο[ς]	Αρ . . . ος	(δρ.) κβF
	130 [.] . [. .]ψ̣ας	Ψο . [. .]ς	(δρ.) κϛF
		(γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ ϟβ̣F	
		ὑ[ικ]ῆ[ς] (δρ.) ρκα (διώβολον)	
		ἄλλω[ν ἀνα]κ̣ε̣χ̣ω̣ρηκότων ἀπὸ	
		Πα[ῦνει (?) το]ῦ α (ἔτους) ὠφειλόντων	
	135	μ̣[όνον τὸ] χωματικόν, διε̣σ̣τ̣αλ-	
		[κό]τ̣[ων] τ̣ὴν λαογραφίαν, ὕστερον	
		παρ[αλ]ε̣λ̣υμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ βασι-	
		[λι]κ̣οῦ γραμματέως	
	[ ] . νος	Κεφάλ[ω]νο(ς)	(δρ.) ϛF
	140 Ἀπύγχις	Ὄρου	|

		Διονύσ(ιος)	Φάειτος	(δρ.) ς
		Πετεσοῦχ(ος)	Πετεσούχ(ου)	
		Χαιρήμω(ν)	Ὡρίωνος	
		Δ . . τας	Ὡρίωνος	
	145	Πτολλᾶς	Ὡρίωνος	
		Ἰσχεῖς	Ἡρώδο(υ)	
Col. viii		Ψενοβάστις	Ψενατύμ(ιος)	
		Παχεῖρις	Διοσκοῦτ(ος)	
		Ἰσχυρίων	Πανόμγ(εως)	
	150	Α . . β	Παχατρέο(ς)	
		[. . . . .]ς	Παχατρέο(ς)	
		[ ]	Ἀμμων(ίου)	
		[ ]	Ἀρχεδήμου	
		[ ]	Ὥρου	
	155	[ ]	Ψενοβάστ(ιος)	
		[ ]	Σκηπίω(νος)	
		[ ]	. ομεως	
		[. . . . .]σω(ς)	[Ἀρχε]δήμου (?)	
		[. . .]ς	Ἁρμίνεως	
	160	Ὀννῶφρις	Ἀνουβ(ίωνος)	[(δρ.) ς
		[.]	Φάσειτο(ς)	(δρ.) ς
		Παποντῶ(ς)	Ἡρα[κλ]ή(ου)	
		. . . . .	Π[ ]	
		[ ]	Μ[	(δρ.)] ς
	165	. . . . ως	Η[	(δρ.)] ς
		[. . . .]ας	Μύσθ(ου)	(δρ.) ς
		Ἀρ[φα]ῆσις	Ἰσχ[είτος]	
		[. . . .]ερος ὁ κ(αὶ) Βένονχ(ις) Νεφε(ρῶτος)		
Col. ix		Ἐσοῦρις	Κ	
	170	. . ειω(ς)	Ον	
		Δῖος	. . . .	
		. . . τις	. . οσ . .	
		Κεφάλ[ων	. . .] . νο(ς)	
		Σαμβ(ᾶς)	Πανε . . .	
	175	Ἡράκλη(ος)	. . . . .	
		Χ	. . . . .	
		Πετεσοῦχ(ος)	. . . . .	
		Ὥρος	. [.] . . .	
		Δ[ῖ]ος	. . . [	(δρ.) ς]
	180	Μυσθ(ᾶς)	. . . [	]
		[. . .] . . .	. . [	]
		Κάλλειος	Κάλλειτ[ο(ς)	]
		Σαμβ(ᾶς)	. . [	]

	Σα[μ]β(ᾶς) (?)	[. .] . . . . [	(δρ.) ϛ[
185	Ὧρος	. [	]
	(γίνονται)	χωμα(τικοῦ)	(δρ.) Ἀ[ρ]
	(γίνονται)	λαογρ(αφίας)	(δρ.) Δ[ψ]κη (τριώβολον)
	ὑικῆ(ς)	[(δρ.) ρκα]	(ὀβολός)

Verso col. i (2nd hand)

Παρὰ Νεμίωνος (*sic*) πράκτορο(ς) λαογρα(φίας)
Φειλαδελ(φείας). ὀφείλεται εἰς μῆ(να) Νέ(ον) Σεβαστ(ὸν)
[[τοῦ δ (ἔτους) Νέρων(ος)]]
τοῦ α (ἔτους) Νέρωνος τοῦ κυρίου
λαογρ(αφία) καὶ ὑικὴ καὶ χωματικ(ὸν) (τοῦ αὐτοῦ) (ἔτους)

	λαογρ(αφίας)	(δρ.) Δψκη (τριώβολον)
195	ὑικῆ(ς)	(δρ.) ρκα
	χωματικὸν	(δρ.) Ἀρ
	ὧν ἀνακεχ(ωρηκότων) ἀπόρων [[τῶι β (ἔτει)]]	
	τῶι ιδ (ἔτει) . . . . . [. . .]	
	δι᾽ ἄλλων ἐφεί( )	
200	[[Πε]]	
	Πετερμοῦ(θις)	Πετερμού(θιος)
	Πολυφάντ(ης)	(τοῦ αὐτοῦ)
	Πατῆβ(κις)	Ἁρυώτου
	Παποντῶ(ς)	Η . . . . .
205	Νεκφ(ερῶς) (?)	(τοῦ αὐτοῦ)
	Π[. . .] . .	Αροι . . .
	Ὧρος	Ἀπολλω(νίου)
	Τρύφων	Μέλανο(ς)
	Φαῆσις	Ἀπολλω(νίου)
210	Δῖος	Φάσειτο(ς)
	(γίνονται) ι	(δρ.) υμα (ὀβολός)

2. l. *Φιλαδελφείας* 57 l. *Παννὶ* 58 l. *προκειμένου* 128. First σ of σωτας corrected from ο. 134. l. *ὀφειλόντων* 137. l. *παραλελυμένων*

Col. ii. [1] ἀνα[κε]χ(ωρηκότων) τῶι β (ἔτει), followed by 15 names. Then [17] (γίνονται) ιε [18] ἀνακεχ( )..κ...(ἔτει), then 6 lines.

Col. iii. 25 lines, all names.

Col. iv. 21 lines, all names.

Col. v, much torn, approx. 20 lines, apparently names. At foot (γίνονται).ε

col. vi. [1] [τ]ῶι β (ἔτει), followed by 2 names. l. 4 (as heading) *Φαῶφι*, followed by a further 16 lines, ? names.

Col. vii. 24 lines badly rubbed.

Col. viii. 25 lines.

Col. ix. 14 lines, mainly names. Unreadable heading in l. 6. l. 14 (γίνονται) μϛ.

8–10. By addition of amounts in cols. i–iv, the totals reached are *λαογρ.* 4,756 dr. 1 obol, *χωματικόν* 700 dr., *ὑικήˊ* 122 dr. 3 obols (4,710 dr. 5 obols; 693 dr. 2 obols; 121 dr. 2 obols if there is not a line missing at head of col. vi). *ὑικήˊ* is reckoned at 1 dr. 1 obol per head. It is clear that the totals recorded in these lines have been taken from some other document. How the sum of 1,100 dr. for *χωματικόν* is reached is not clear. Even if the figures in coll. vii–ix are added to the 700 dr. reached for coll. i–vi, the total will still be considerably short of the 1,100 here recorded.

12. *ἐν ἀπὸ τοῦ α (ἔτους)*: explained by H. I. Bell, *JRS.*, loc. cit., p. 7 n. 26. *ἀπὸ τοῦ α (ἔτους)*, (the heading) 'from the first year' is treated as a noun.

14. The following names recur in P. Cornell 24 (line reference to which in brackets): 14 *Ἡρακλ. Πε.* (6), 15 *Ὧρος Πν.* (7), 16 *Ὀννῶφρις* (8, probably identical, see note), 17 *Φᾶσις Ἀτρ.* (9), 18 *Φάσεις Φασ.* (13), 19 *Φάσεις υἱός* (14), 21 *Σαμβᾶς ὁ κ. Ἰσχ.* (12), 23 *Πολυφάντης Πολυφ.* (15), 24 *Ὧρος Ἀπολλ.* (16), 28 *Ἁρφαῆσις Ἁρφ.* (18), 29 *Πυλάδης Ἡρακλ.* (19), 30 *Πεμσᾶς Ἡρακλ.* (20), 31 *Παγκράτης Ἁρυ.* (21), 32 *Πεβῶς Ἡρακλ.* (22), 33 *Ἡρακλῆς υἱός* (23), 34 *Ἡρακλῆς ἄλλος υἱός* (24), 35 *Κάλλεις Ἁρφ.* (25), 36 *Κάλλεις Ἁρφ. ἄλλου* (26), 37 *Ἡράκλης Πετ.* (28), 38 *Τεῶς Ὧρου* (29), 39 *Πειναῦς Ὧρου* (30), 40 *Σαμβᾶς Ὧρου* (31), 41 *Παχνοῦβις Πε.* (32), 42 *Ὧρος Ἁβ.* (34), 43 *Πετεμο(ῦνις) Ἁκ.* (35), 44 *Πετεσοῦχ(ος) Πετ.* (36), 45 *Ζωίλος Θεώνος* (37), 46 *Ἀτρῆς Κεφ.* (38), 47 *Πεῆρις Πτολλ.* (39), 48 *Πραξέας Ἁρπ.* (41), 49 *Ἡράκλης Ἡρακλ.* (42). In addition P. Cornell l. 33 *Ἅπυγχις Ὧρου*, 45 *Σαταβοῦς Ὡρίωνος*, 49 *Προτίων Πραξίου* probably reappear in **595** in lines 140, 116, 112 respectively.

14. *Πεούριος*, P. Ryl.; *Πούρεως*, P. Cornell.

16. The name in genitive looks like *Ἀημνίου*. Not *Λημνίου*. Nevertheless, in view of position between *Ὧρος* and *Φᾶσις*, we take this *Ὀννῶφρις* to be the same person as in P. Cornell l. 8, and assume that *Πνεφερῶτος* there is a dittography from the genitive immediately above it.

24. Cf. P. Cornell l. 16, and expand there *Ἀπολλω(νίου)*.

30. Cf. P. Cornell l. 20, printed *Πεμὲς*. From the photograph we are inclined to read it as *Πεμσᾶς*.

37. The name is very cursively written, both here and below (44, 52, 60, 63, 69, 94, 118, 142). In P. Cornell 24 it is printed as *Πετεοῦχος* throughout; but our preference is (both there and here) for *Πετεσοῦχος*.

41. *Πεήρεως*: for form cf. *infra* 47, 102. P. Cornell, l. 32 *Πεσήρεως*, confirmed from photograph.

42. *Ἄβιτος*: the photograph shows that this is also the reading in P. Cornell, l. 34.

45. *Θέωνος* P. Ryl., *Θύωνος* P. Cornell, l. 37 (confirmed from photograph).

58. *εἰς ἀγνοουμένους τόπους*: cf. P. Oxy. 1438, 14.

73. *Σάντωρος* not in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*. Nor are *Παελλῆς*, l. 89; *Σενῆς*, l. 90; *Μυρῆς*, l. 92; *Παχατρῆς*, ll. 149–50; *Βένονχις*, l. 168.

95. *Τρύφων Μέλανος*: cf. l. 70. Is the same person included twice?

112. *Προτίω(ν)*: cf. P. Cornell, l. 49.

114. After *τῶι* restore a figure (or symbol for *αὐτῷ*) and *ἔτος* sign. The remainder is uncertain. Not *μηδεὶς* and then e.g. *παραλέλυκε* (as l. 137). *ἐστραγευμένοι*—'defaulters' or 'malingerers'. On the word cf. Th. Lenger, *Chron. d'Égypte*, 1948, p. 112. In BGU. 1760, 7 read *ἀστραγεύτως* for editor's *ἀστρατεύτως*.

197. *ἀπόρρῳν*, reading of the last 3 letters is very uncertain. At end of following line perhaps *]τρυ τατῳν*.

202. Among the names that follow cf. l. 202 and l. 23; 204 and 66 (?); 207 and 24; 208 and 70; 209 and 26.

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596. RETURN OF UNINUNDATED LAND

Arsinoite nome. 8·5 × 16 cm. 22 March, A.D. 204.

Declaration of uninundated private land at Kerkesoucha which had been apportioned under forced lease (*ἐπιβολή*) to a number of farmers of cleruchic land at Karanis. A full statement of the land thus compulsorily assigned was crammed by a second hand into a space left by the original writer of the return, where reading is also made difficult by fraying of the fibres. A list of declarations of this type is given S. Avogadro, *Aegyptus*, XV (1935), 134–5, which

should be supplemented by the additions noted in introduction to P. Mich. 366–9; and add **682** and P. Philadelphia 9.

]·[
Νορβάνῳ τῶι καὶ Σερήνῳ στρα(τηγῷ)
Ἀρσι(νοίτου) Θεμίστου καὶ Πολε(μῶνος) μερίδ(ων)
διαδεχο(μένῳ) τὰ κατὰ τὴν στρ(ατηγίαν) Ἡρακ(λείδου)
καὶ Κανώπῳ τῷ καὶ Ἀσκληπιά-
δῃ βασιλ(ικῷ) γρα(μματεῖ) τῆς αὐτῆς μερίδος
καὶ κωμογρα(μματεῖ) Κερκεσουχ(ῶν)
παρὰ Πτολεμαίου Πανεφρέμε-
ως καὶ Σισόιτος Ὀννώφρεως καὶ
τῶν λοιπ(ῶν) συνγεωργ(ούντων) δ̄ κληρουχ(ίας)
κώμης Καρανίδος. ἀπογραφόμε-
θα κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα ὑπὸ Κλαυ-
δίου Διογνήτου τοῦ κρα(τίστου) ἐπιτρόπου
τὰς ἐπιβληθείσας ἡμῖν ἀπὸ πε-
δίων κώμης Κερκ[εσο]υχῶν
(2nd hand) Κερκεσουχ(ῶν) προσόδ(ου) [. . .]ηει (ἀρούρας) μ . α( ) [
ὁμ(οίως) . ε . χ̄α . . . ης α( ) [.] αλλη[.] . . [
ᾱ . . ξδ (ἀρούρας) ϛ L δ η ις ξδ προσόδ(ου) . . [
προσόδ(ου) α (ἀρτάβης) Ἰσίεος (ἀρούραν) α β[
λοι( ) διοικ(ήσεως) καὶ οὐσιακ(ῶν) (ἀρούρας) α ξδ ρκη . [
[. . .] (ἀρούρας) β L δ ις ῆς . . . [
(1st hand) ἐν ἀβρόχῳ πρὸς τὸ ἐ[νεστὸς] ιβ (ἔτος)
διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι.
(3rd hand) ἀπεγρ(άφη) π(αρὰ) βασιλ(ικῷ γραμματεῖ) ιβ (ἔτει) Φαμ(ενὼθ) κζ
(4th hand) [κ]ωμογρ[α(μματεὺς) ἔσχον τού]του υιο . σε[

2. l. *Νωρβάνῳ*

'To Norbanus also called Serenus, strategus of the divisions of Themistes and Polemon of the Arsinoite nome, acting strategus of the division of Heraclides; to Canopus also called Asclepiades royal scribe of the same division; and to the village scribe of Kerkesoucha from Ptolemy son of Panephremis and Sisois son of Onnophris and the other joint farmers of the fourth cleruchy of the village of Karanis. In accordance with the orders of his excellency the procurator Claudius Diognetus we register the land assigned to us from the territory of the village of Kerkesoucha, viz. (*details*), as falling in the category of uninundated land for the present 12th year. Wherefore we present our declaration.

'Registered with the royal scribe, Year 12, Phamenoth 27.

'I . . . village scribe have received a duplicate for purposes of verification.'

1. A long oblique stroke which may be a trial of the pen, but may represent a serial number.

2. Norbanus also called Serenus was previously known as strategus for Themistes and Polemon from June/Aug. to 17 Sept. 203, Henne, *Stratèges*, p. 63. For Canopus also called Asclepiades, royal scribe of Heracleides, cf. ibid., p. 69, and **682**. P. Yale 903 (Gilliam, *Yale Class. Studies*, X, no. xiii) shows that he was still in office on 20 July 204.

10. δ κληρουχ(ίας): clearly κδ κληρουχίας in P. Aberdeen 50, 1 is not a heading but the tail of the description of the peasants making the return as here. Ibid., l. 4, presumably [ἐπιβλ]ηθείσας should be read; as already noted by H. C. Youtie (P. Mich. 366, 8 n.) the land mentioned is an assignation for compulsory cultivation.

12. Κλαύδιος Διόγνητος: cf. P. Aberdeen 50, 3 n.

19. α (ἀρτάβης), cf. P. Oxy. 1459, 11.

25. The village scribe usually subscribes ἔσχον τούτου τὸ ἴσον εἰς ἐξέτασιν (or ἄχρι ἐξετάσεως).

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597. DRAFT OF A REGISTRATION OF PROPERTY

Oxyrhynchus. 11×21 cm. A.D. 90.

Draft of a registration of property, made in accordance with the commands of the Prefect, Mettius Rufus (P. Oxy. 237, col. viii, 27–43), by Ploution of the village of Teis (cf. P. Oxy. 1436, introd.). Parallel documents belonging to the same year are P. Oxy. 72; 247; 358 (?), 359 (?); PSI. 942. See M. Hombert–Cl. Préaux, *Chron. d'Égypte*, XLIII (1947), 131.[1]

Ἐπιμάχωι καὶ Θέωνι βιβλ(ιοφύλαξιν)
παρὰ Πλουτιώνος τοῦ Διο-
νυσίου τοῦ Ἡρακλέ̣ου μητρὸς
Ἀμμωνοῦτος τῆς Ἀμμω-
5 νίου τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Τη-
έως τῆς Θ̣μοισεφῶ το-
παρχίας. ἀπογράφομαι
κατὰ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατίσ-
του ἡγεμόνος Μεττίου
10 Ῥούφου προστεταγμένα
τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μοι εἰς τὴν
ἐνεστῶσαν ἡμέραν ἐν
τῇ αὐτῇ κώμῃ.

'To Epimachus & Theon, keepers of the archives, from Ploution son of Dionysius son of Heracleus, his mother being Ammonous daughter of Ammonius of the village of Teis in the Thmoisephite toparchy. In accordance with the commands of his excellency the prefect Mettius Rufus I register my property at the present date in the same village.'

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598. PETITION

Arsinoite nome. 11×7·5 cm. A.D. 73.

Ends of 15 lines from a dossier forming part of a petition requesting the retention of certain privileges in connexion with a προφητεία. They include a letter from a high Roman official, Mummius Gallus (?), who appears to have been idiologus in A.D. 73. Unfortunately it is not clear whether the idiologus's intervention was purely fiscal (the interpretation of these cases by Uxkull-Gyllenband, *Der Gnomon des Idios Logos*, II, p. 5) or resulted from a general religious supervision as ἀρχιερεύς, a capacity which Plaumann, *Der Idioslogos*, p. 37,

[1] And for Epimachos and Theon cf. also PSI 1235.

suspected was his as early as Augustus. Cf. further, J. Scherer, *Bulletin de l'Institut fr. d'Archéol. orient.* XLI. (1942), 60 ff.

. . . . .
] Ἀ̣ρσινοε[ί]τ̣ο[υ] τὸ
ἐ]κωλύθησαν
παρα]δείγματος δέ σοι
] . [.] . [. .] . ὑ̣πὸ Μομμίου Γάλ-
λου τοῦ πρὸς τῶι ἰδί]ω̣ι λόγ[ωι] ἐ̣π̣ιστολῆς ἥτις
ἐκεῖ]να ἐνπ̣εριείληφεν.
(ἔτους)] ϛ μ̣η̣(νὸς) Σεβαστοῦ ιθ̄. 16 Sept. A.D. 73
στρατηγ]ῶι (?) Ἡρακ[λ]είδου μερίδος χ(αίρειν).
] π̣ερὶ π[ρ]οφητείας ἱεροῦ
ἐ]πιστολ[ῆ]ς Ἀριστοκλέους
συντ]άξει[ς] οὖν τῷ Ἀπολλω-
νίῳ προ]φητε . . αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ
ὑπὸ τῶν] θεῶν Σεβαστῶν φυλαχθέν-
τα ἐ̣ρ̣ρ̣ῶσθα]ι . (ἔτους) ε Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Μεχ(εὶρ) κᾱ. 15 Feb. A.D. 73
ὑ]πογραφῆς ταῦτά μοι ἐφυλά-
χθη Broken

4. *Mummius Gallus*: if the ordinary rules of word division hold, as they do in the rest of the papyrus, *Gallus* is the only plausible restoration though e.g. Gallicus, Gallicius cannot be ruled out. The title at the beginning of l. 5 is restored *exempli gratia*, as the length of line is unknown. At the beginning of line 4 *τῆς γρα]φ[ε]ί̣[ση]ς* is just possible. If these restorations are in fact correct, the Lysimachus of P. Fouad Inv. 211, 9, 18, 20 cannot have been idiologus continuously from A.D. 69 to A.D. 88 as supposed by Scherer, loc. cit.

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599. APPLICATION FOR ADMISSION TO THE GEROUSIA

Oxyrhynchus. 8·3 × 18 cm. A.D. 226.

An application for enrolment in the gerousia of Oxyrhynchus published by E. G. Turner in *Archiv*, XII (1937), 179–86, from which the text was reproduced as SB. 8032. Apart from Alexandria, where there is known to have been a gerousia (the evidence for which has recently been brilliantly discussed by A. Momigliano in *JRS.* XXXIV (1944), 114–15), no other locality in Egypt, whether city or metropolis, is known to have possessed such an institution. For Oxyrhynchus the evidence of PSI. 1240 (A.D. 222) has also to be taken into account. In this latter text a certain Heracles asks to be enrolled among *οἱ προσγεινόμενοι διακόσιοι [γέ]ροντες*. In the original publication the exiguous data in **599** and in PSI. 1240 were compared with what is known of gerousiae elsewhere in the Roman world, and the tentative conclusion reached that the gerousia of Oxyrhynchus was a body for which members of the privileged class of Hellenes were eligible after reaching a certain age.

Αὐρηλίῳ Διδύμῳ τῷ καὶ Διο-
σκουρίδῃ ἐξηγητεύσαντι

βουλ(ευτῇ) διέποντι καὶ τὰ στέμμ̣α̣τ̣α̣
τῆς Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως
παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Κλαυδιανοῦ Σαρ̣ᾶτος
τοῦ Σαραπίωνος μητρὸς Ἀμμω-
νοῦτος ἀπ᾽ Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως. γε-
γονὼς ἤδη π̣ρ̣ὸ̣ς̣ τὸ ἐνεστ(ὸς) ϛ (ἔτος) (ἔτη) ξη
καὶ ὀφείλων ἐνταγῆναι τοῖς ἀπὸ
τοῦ γερουσίου τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικί-
αν βεβιωκόσιν ὡς τὸ μετέχειν
τῶν τῆς γερουσίας τιμίων ἐπι-
δίδωμι τὸ ὑπόμνημα παρα-
τιθέμενος τῆς πρὸς τὸ κδ̣ (ἔτος) [θε]ο̣ῦ
Σεουήρου Ἀντωνίνου [κατ᾽ οἰκ(ίαν)]
ἀπογρ(αφῆς) τὸ ἀνῆκον μ̣έ̣ρ̣ος ἐπ[ὶ]
τὸ τὰ ἀκόλουθα γενέσθαι ὡς
καθήκει. (Ἔτους) ϛ Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου
Ἀλεξάνδ⟨ρ⟩ου Εὐσεβοῦς Ε̣ὐ̣τ̣υ̣χ̣ο̣ῦ̣ς̣
Σεβαστοῦ Φαῶφι. ἐπιδέ(δωκα).
[Ὁμοί]ω̣ς̣ (?) ἐκ δη(μοσίας) βιβλ(ιοθήκης) ἐκ πεδιακ(οῦ) ἐ̣π̣ικ(ρίσεως)
[τοῦ προκειμ]έ̣ν̣ου (ἔτους) ἐπ[ι]δ[ίδωμι]
. . . . . .

11. ? l. ὥστε.

'To Aurelius Didymus also called Dioscurides, ex-exegetes, senator, and administrator of the corps of the city of Oxyrhynchus, from Aurelius Claudianus, son of Saras, son of Sarapion, his mother being Ammonous, of the city of Oxyrhynchus. As I have attained the age of 68 in the present sixth year and ought to be enrolled among the members of the gerousia who have lived to the same age in order to share in the privileges of the gerousia, I present my application, enclosing the relevant portion of the house-to-house census return of the twenty-fourth year of the deified Severus Antoninus, in order that the proper steps may be taken in consequence. (*Date.*) I have presented. Likewise I present (an extract) from the public archive from the roll of scrutiny of the aforesaid year. . . .'

1. *Αὐρ. Δίδυμος ὁ καὶ Διοσκουρίδης*, cf. P. Oxy. 1498 (Probus) where he is mentioned as the father of some official whose name is lost.

3. *διέποντι καὶ τὰ στέμματα*, cf. **77**, 31, and to the evidence there cited add P. Oxy. 2130, 7 and SB. 592, an Alexandrian dedication of the first century to *Τιβέριον Κλαύδιο[ν] Ἔρωτα τὸν μέγαν γυμνασίαρχο(ν) καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν στεμμάτων*. In *Archiv*, loc. cit., p. 185 it is argued that *τὰ στέμματα* = the various divisions of the gymnasial classes. In view of this, and the implication here that this official was responsible for the enrolment of new members of the gerousia, there can be no doubt that his main duty was to maintain and revise the roll of citizens (cf. Kießling, *RE*. III A 2331). A somewhat similar suggestion, though arrived at by a different route, is that of A. J. Boyé (*Studi Bonfante*, IV. 184 n. 5) 'le magistrat désigné était chargé des recherches et des vérifications généalogiques intéressant la cité'. It would be no great extension of his duties for him also to supervise the lists of magistrates and to collect fees from them on their appointment (*στεπτικά*, P. Oxy. 1413, 4 et 6). In **77** *οἱ διέποντες τὴν τῶν στεμμάτων διοίκησιν* are concerned with the security taken from a nominee to office who claims to be *ἄπορος*. As the editors of this document note, the transaction described in P. Fay. 87 may have arisen from a similar cause.

8. *ξη*, Wilcken, from a photograph.

9. *τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ γερουσίου*: Mr. T. C. Skeat suggests the possibility that the phrase means a class of supernumerary gerousiasts, i.e. persons enjoying the privileges (*τίμια*) without the actual title of gerousiast. Such persons might be the *προσγεινόμενοι* [*γέ*]*ροντες* of PSI. 1240. He points out that if the only qualification was age (or age plus some minimum social status) and if the total number were limited, there would inevitably be people who had a right to become gerousiasts but who could not be formally admitted until a vacancy occurred.

14. i.e. the census of A.D. 215/16.

22 f. In the same hand as the rest of the papyrus. The reading of l. 22 seems certain except for the *ε* of *ἐπικ*(*ρίσεως*) where the papyrus is a little rubbed. For l. 23 the restoration is only tentative. After *ἐπ*[*ι*]-*δ*[*ίδωμι*] understand *τὸ ἀντίγραφον* or *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ* or the like, followed by particulars.

For the meaning of *πεδιακὸν ἐπικρίσεως*, see Wilcken, *Archiv*, XII (1936), 86 ff.

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600. OFFER TO LEASE OLIVE CROP AND GRANT OF LEASE

Arsinoite nome. 13×25 cm. 29 October 8 B.C.

This document, folded in antiquity twice down its height and 14 times across, is written in a strongly stylized and practised hand but couched in illiterate Greek. It is an offer made by two partners, Ammonius and Dorion, to Poseidonius, factor to a lady called Theanous, to lease the olive crop in her newly planted olive-grove. This type of contract has recently been studied (for date-palms and their fruits) by N. Hohlwein, 'Palmiers et palmeraies dans l'Égypte romaine' (*Ét. de Papyrologie*, V, 49 ff.), to whose lists P. Philadelphia 12 and 13 should be added. The tenderers are not offering to cultivate the olive-grove (or olive-trees forming part of a larger property but leased independently), but simply offering a price, no doubt after inspection, for the fruit already formed on the trees, which they will harvest almost immediately. It is, in fact, a speculative operation on both sides, and an option is explicitly confirmed to the lessor (ll. 14–15, cf. 25–6) to cancel the contract in case of a later higher tender. The offer was made on 20 Phaophi = 17 October, but not accepted by the factor (in the second of the dockets at the foot) till Hathyr 2 = 29 October.

Recto (1st hand)

Ποσιδωνίῳ τῷ πρωνοοῦντι τῶν Θεα-
νοῦτος τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου παρὰ Ἀμμω-
νίου τοῦ Ἀρχε[δήμ]ου καὶ Δ[ω]ρίωνος τ[οῦ]
Δωρίωνος τῶ[ν] δ[ύ]ω. βολόμ[εθα μισθώ-]
σεσθαι τὸν ὑ[πάρ]χοντ̣α τ̣[ῇ Θεανοῦτι]
ἐλεῶνος νεωφύτου περ[ὶ] Καρανί[δα]
τοὺς καρποὺς [τ]οῦ δετέρου καὶ εἰκ[ο]σ-
τοῦ (ἔτους) Καίσα[ρ]ος ἐκπεπτωκώτας
εἰς τὸ τρίτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ (ἔτους) Καίσαρ(ος
φόρου τοῦ [πα]ντὸς ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς [τε-]
σσάρκοντα ἃς καὶ ἀποδώσωμεν [ν]
μηνὶ Ἀθὺρ ἕως τριακάδος ὄντ[ων ἀλλή-]
λων ἐνγῦν εἰς ἔκτισιν ἄνευ πάση[ς ὑπερ-]
θέσεως καὶ ἐρησιλογίας καὶ ἐξῖναί [σοι]

τῷ [[.]] πλήων διδώντι μεταμισθῦν, τὸ[ν]
δὲ κατασπασμὸν ποησώμεθα ἐ[ν]
Ἀθὺρ μηνὶ τοῦ τρίτου καὶ εἰκοστ̣[οῦ (ἔτους)]
Καίσαρος. (Ἔτους) κγ Καίσαρ(ος) Φῶφι κ̄.

(2nd hand) Δωρίων Δωρίονος ὁμολογῶ συμμεμισθῶ̣[σθαι]
ἀκλούθως τοῖς προκειμένοις πᾶσι καὶ συνεκτ[είσω]
τὸν φόρον ⟨ὃν⟩ καὶ συνπέπισμε. (Ἔτους) κγ Καίσαρος
Φαιῶφι εἰκάδι.

(3rd hand) Ποσειδώνιος ὁ προνοῶν τῶν Θεανιο[ῦτος]
τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπεικεχώρηκα μι̣[σθοῦν]
ἐπεὶ τοῖς προκειμένοις πᾶσει καὶ ἐ̣[ξέσ-]
ται μοι τῶι τὸ πλ̣ῆν ⟨διδόντι⟩ μεταμισθοῖν.
(Ἔτους) τρίτου καὶ ἰκοστοῦ Καίσαρος Ἀθὺρ β̄.

Verso, traces of 3 lines, mostly effaced, in 4th hand. At end of l. 2 date (ἔτους) κγ Καίσα̣[ρο]ς Φ[αῶ]φ[ι] κ̄

Recto 1. l. προνοοῦντι 4. l. βούλομεθα 6. l. ἐλαιῶνος νεοφύτου 7. l. δευτέρου 8. l. ἐκπίπτοντας 9. l. τρίτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος 10, 11. l. δραχμῶν, τεσσαράκοντα, and ἀποδώσομεν 13. l. ἐγγυῶν 14. l. εὐρησιλογίας, ἐξεῖναι 15. l. πλέον διδόντι μεταμισθοῦν 16. l. ποιησόμεθα 18. l. Φαῶφι 19. l. Δωρίωνος 20. l. ἀκολούθως 21. l. συμπέπεισμαι 22. l. Φαῶφι 23. l. Θεανοῦτος 24. l. ἐπικεχώρηκα 25. l. ἐπὶ, πᾶσι 26. l. πλέον 27. l. εἰκοστοῦ

(1st hand) 'To Poseidonius, factor to Theanous daughter of Alexander from Ammonius son of Archedemus and Dorion son of Dorion, partners. From the newly planted olive grove near Karanis belonging to Theanous we wish to lease the fruits formed in the 22nd year of Caesar and falling in the 23rd year at a total rent of 40 silver drachmae, which we will pay by the 30th of the month Hathyr, we being mutual sureties for payment in full without any delay or equivocation; it will be lawful for you to relet to anyone making a higher bid. We will gather the crop in the month Hathyr of the 23rd year of Caesar. (*Date*) 23rd year of Caesar, Phaophi 20.

(2nd hand) 'I, Dorion son of Dorion agree that I am a partner to the lease made agreeably to the above-mentioned conditions, and I will, as partner, pay in full the rent on which I have agreed. (*Date*) 23rd year of Caesar, Phaophi 20.

(3rd hand) 'I, Posidonius, factor to Theanous daughter of Alexander, have granted the lease on the above-mentioned conditions, and it shall be lawful for me to relet to anyone making a higher bid. (*Date*) 23rd year of Caesar, Hathyr 2.'

(Verso, mainly effaced, except for date, 23rd year of Caesar, Phaophi 20.)

3. Ἀρχε̣[δή]μου: the traces suggest ε after χ rather than ι. Otherwise Ἀρχι̣[δά]μου or Ἀρχι̣[δή]μου (which it seems impossible to assign to different chronological periods) might equally well be restored.

4–5. [μισθώ]σεσθα̣ι: the ε is clear. Cf. Mayser, *Grammatik*, I, pp. 384–5, for instances of future instead of aorist infinitive during the Ptolemaic period.

5. τὸν ὑ̣[πάρ]χο̣ν̣τα̣ κτλ.: one may choose between reconstructing the writer's intention as either (*a*) τὸν ὑπάρχοντα . . . ἐλαιῶνα νεόφυτον . . . τοὺς καρποὺς, accusative of the whole and part; or (*b*) ⟨ἀπὸ⟩ τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος . . . ἐλαιῶνος νεοφύτου κτλ.

7. [τ]οῦ δετέρου καὶ εἰ̣κ[ο]σ̣τοῦ (ἔτους) κτλ.: this clause is not completely otiose, though it is part of the ordinary stylized formula. It makes a more precise statement of the growing season concerned: the fruits form before the Egyptian new year, mature after it.

14. *ἐξῖναι*: as if *ὁμολογοῦμεν* had preceded.

16. *κατασπασμόν*: cf. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellen. Aegypten*, I. 309–10. The olives are gathered by beating the trees with reeds.

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601. LEASE OF CLERUCHIC LAND

Karanis (Arsinoite nome). 17·5×22 cm. 1 August 26 B.C.
PLATES 3 and 4

A lease of cleruchic land written in tiny, almost illegible, cursive hands, and registered in the grapheion. The first main section (perhaps in two different hands) contains a formal lease of 49 arourae of cleruchic land granted by the lessor Demetrius, son of Diodotus, Thessalian; the second section, in a slightly larger hand (yet possibly the same as hand 2) is a signed form of agreement to the lease accepted by the two lessees acting conjointly. Each section is prefixed by a docket, presumably written by the scribes of the grapheion: the first (written very cursively and with many contractions), has baffled us, and we leave it unread to the reader who may accept its representation on the plate as a challenge. On the verso is a red stamp which is possibly an authentication of the document. After the contract determined, the document was cancelled by oblique lines covering both sections. The papyrus has been folded nine times horizontally and five times vertically; in the course of its life, damage occurred along the folds, which were patched with small scraps of papyrus along the verso. In the published text the maximum number of hands have been distinguished, but it seems likely that hands 2 and 5 are identical, and that at the point marked 'hand 3' the scribe of hand 2 simply changed over to a more cursive and careless form of handwriting. The fact that there is no change of hand for the signatories in the second section shows that the present text is a grapheion copy. The document is among the earliest known from Karanis. Cf. also **600** and **602.**

Docket: (1st hand). See PLATE 3

(2nd hand) *Ἔτους τετάρτου τῆς Καίσαρος κρατήσεως θεοῦ υἱοῦ μηνὸς Ὑπερβερεταίου*
Μεσορὴι ἐν Πτολεμαΐδι Εὐεργέτιδι τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου νόμου. ἐμίσθωσεν
Δημήτριος Διοδότου Θέσσαλος Χαιρήμονι Ζήνωνος καὶ Λιμναίωι Πτολεμαίου τοῖς
5 *δυσὶ Περσαῖς τῆς ἐπιγονῆς εἰς ἔτηι τρία ἀπὸ τοῦ πέμπτου ἔτους Καίσαρος τὸν ὑπάρχ[ο]ντα*
αὐτῶι κλῆρον ἀρουρῶν τεσσαράκοντα ἐννέα ἢ ὅσων ἐὰν ἦι ὦν ἐν δυσὶ σφ[ρα]γῖ[σι περὶ]
Ψεναρψένησιν τῆς Ἡ[ρα]κλείδου μερίδ[ο]ς (3rd hand) *ἐκφορίου τῶν μὲν ἐν μι̣ᾶ̣[ι σφ]ραγῖδι*
ἀρουρῶν τ[εσ]σαράκοντα πέντε σὺν σπέρμασι ἀρτάβαις τεσσαράκοντα [πέ]ντε
πυροῦ ἀρταβ̣[ῶν] τριακοσίων τεσσαράκοντα ὀκτὼ ἐν τῆι ἄλλη[ι] σφραγῖδι
10 *ἀρουρῶν [τε]σσάρων ἄνευ σπέρματος πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἐξαι-*
ρέτων νέων ἀρταβῶν τεσσάρων ἀλεκτόρων δύο, τὰ δὲ καθ' ἔτος ἐκφόρια
ἀποδότωισαν οἱ μεμισθωμένοι Δημητρίωι ἀεὶ[[. .]] ἐν τῶι Παῦνι μηνὶ ἐν Καρανίδι
πυρὸν νέον καθαρὸν ἀπὸ πάντων ἄδολον τὸν ἐσόμενον . . . . . και . ι . καιδιων
μέτρωι ἑξαχοινίκωι Καράνιδος ἐμπορικῶι ἀγοραίωι καὶ ἀκίνδυνα παντὸς κιν-
15 *δύνου καὶ ἀνυπόλογον πάσης φθορᾶς πλὴν ἀβρόχου. ἐὰν δὲ ησυραντωι κλη . . . . .*
ἐπιβροχῆι ο . . κλῆρος ἐμβροχῆι ηι . . . τωισαν οἱ μεμισθωμένοι τα ἐκφόρια
καπιητου . . τωι κλῃ . . . . τοι . . ἐξ απια . τῆς πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου ἐὰν μὴ . . αν . . . καις

(4th hand) Ἔτους δ Καίσαρος Μεσορὴ ζ ἀναγέγρ(απται) διὰ τῶν ἀπὸ γρ(αφείου)
(5th hand) Χαιρήμων Ζήνωνος καὶ Λιμνίων Πτολεμαίου οἱ δύο Πέρσαι
τῆς ἐπιγονῆς μεμισθώμεθα εἰς ἔτη τρία ἀπὸ τοῦ πέμπτο(υ)
Καίσαρος τὸν τοῦ Δημητρίου περὶ Ψεναρψένησ(ιν) κλῆρον ἀρουρῶ(ν)
τεσσαράκοντα ἐννέα ἢ ὅσων εναινη ὂν ἐν δυσὶ σφραγῖσι ἐκφορίου
τῶν ἐμ μιᾷ σφραγῖδι ἀρουρῶν [τ]εσσαράκοντα πέντε σὺν σπέρ-
μασι ἀρτάβαις τεσσαρ[ά]κ{ολ}οντα πέντε πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν [τ]ρ[ια]κοσί-
ων [τεσ]σαρά[κο]ντ[α ὀ]κτὼ, [ἐν] τῆ[ι] ἄλληι σφραγῖδι ἀρ[ο]υ[ρ]ῶν [τεσ-]
σάρω[ν] ἄνευ σ[π]ε[ρ]μάτων πυρ(οῦ) ἀρταβῶν τεσσαρ[ά]κο[ντα καὶ ἐ-]
ξαιρέτων [νέων] ἀρταβῶν τεσσάρων ἀλεκτόρων [δύο καὶ]
παρ[αδ]ώ[σομεν] τὰ ἐκφόρια ἐν τῶι Παῦνι μηνὶ ἐν Κα[ρανίδι]
[μέτρωι ἑξαχοι]νικῶι ἐμπορ[ικ]ῶι τῆς [κ]ώμης καὶ ἀν[απαύσο-]
[μεν κατ' ἔτος τὸ] τῆς μεγάλης σφραγῖδος χόρτωι ἢ κυάμ[ωι . . . .]
καὶ ἐ[γγ]υώμε[θα] ἀλλήλους εἰς ἔκτισιν.
Λιμναῖος [Πτ]ολεμαίου Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς συνμεμίσ[θωμαι καὶ]
[[κα]]συν . . ασμαι εἰς ἔκτισιν καθό[τ]ι προγέγραπται.

Verso: red stamp twice repeated (once across the cut edge of the papyrus). Double parallelogram, with lozenge in centre containing a figure. Lettering inside the border of parallel lines, only one side of which can be made out. It appears to read *νομάρχο(υ)*.

3. l. *Μεσορὴ*, then blank space for entering the date *δότωσαν*; *αει* followed by two letters corrected to *εν* 5. l. *ἔτη* 6. l. *ὄντα* 12. l. *ἀπο-* 22. l. *ἐὰν ᾖι ὄντα*

Docket, then (2nd hand) 'In the 4th year of the dominion of Caesar, divi filius, the . . . th of the month Hyperberetaios = . . . th Mesore, in Ptolemais Euergetis in the Arsinoite nome. Demetrius son of Diodotus, Thessalian, has leased to Chaeremon, son of Zenon, and Limnaios, son of Ptolemy, both of them Persians of the epigone, for a period of three years from the fifth year of Caesar the plot of land belonging to him consisting of 49 arourae or such as it may be situated near Psenarpsenesis in the Heraclid division (*3rd hand*) at the following rent: for the 45 arourae in one parcel (inclusive of 45 artabae of seed corn), 348 artabae of wheat; for the 4 arourae in the other parcel (excluding seed corn) 40 artabae of wheat, plus 4 artabae of new wheat and 2 cocks as special inducements. The yearly rents are to be paid by the lessees to Demetrius on each occasion in the month of Payni at Karanis, in new clean wheat, clear of all trickery, to be . . . by the 6-choinix trade and market measure of Karanis, free of all risk, and subject to no deduction for spoiling except failure of flood irrigation. But if . . .

(4th hand) 'Year 4 of Caesar, Mesore 7, registered through the grapheion officials.

(5th hand) 'We, Chaeremon son of Zenon and Limnion, son of Ptolemy, both Persians of the epigone, have leased for a period of three years from the fifth year of Caesar the plot of land of Demetrius near Psenarpsenesis, amounting to 49 arourae or such as it may be, situated in two parcels at the following rent: for the 45 arourae in one parcel (inclusive of 45 artabae of seed corn) 348 artabae of wheat; in the other parcel (exclusive of seed corn) 40 artabae of wheat, plus 4 artabae of wheat and 2 cocks as special inducements; and we shall hand over the rents in the month of Payni at Karanis, measured by the 6-choinix trade measure of the village; and every year we shall rest the land in the large parcel with hay or beans, and we reciprocally guarantee each other to pay in full. I, Limnaios, son of Ptolemy, Persian of the epigone, have joined in the lease and (join in reciprocal guarantee) for payment in full as set out above.'

2. For datings by *κράτησις Καίσαρος* see Wilcken in *JRS.* XXVII (1937), p. 140 n. 16, and to his list add PSI. 1150 and P. Mich. 345. Dating by the *κράτησις* era is used only once, for in l. 18 the docket is simply (*ἔτους*) δ *Καίσαρος*. Cf. PSI. 1150.

4. *Λιμναῖος*: the same form in l. 32. But in l. 19 it is given as *Λιμνίων*.

11. For cocks as *ἐξαίρετα* cf. e.g. **166**, 19; P. Mich. II. 121, Recto III. v. For *καθ' ἔτος* instead of *κατ' ἔτος* cf. P. Merton 10, 18 note.

15–17. We have not succeeded in reading these lines. After *πλὴν ἀβρόχου* some detailed safeguard against *ἀβροχία* in favour of the lessors might be expected such as occurs in e.g. P. Oxy. 101 *ἐὰν δέ τις τοῖς ἑξῆς ἔτεσι ἄβροχος γένηται, παραδεχθήσεται τῷ μεμισθωμένῳ*. Cf. also BGU. 831, P. Amh. 85, PSI. 1098, 12.

28. *ἀποδώσομεν* is to be expected but cannot be read.

29. [*μέτρωι ἑξαχοι*]*νικῶι ἐμπορ*[*ικ*]*ῶι* read by Mr. T. C. Skeat. For *ἀν*[*απαύσομεν* cf. P. Teb. I, p. 564, and M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft*, 230 ff.

21. *ἐγγυώμεθα ἀλλήλους εἰς ἔκτισιν*: same construction in BGU. 1848, 10.

33. The scribe erased his first two letters. The following traces point to *συνεγύασμαι* (for *συνεγγύασμαι*), cf. P. Hibeh 94, 16 (where most of the word is in restoration). Stamp on verso: on stamps in general cf. Erman in *Archiv*, I, p. 76 n. 1; Deissmann, *Bible Studies* (1903), 243 ff.; Wenger in RE., s.v. *signum*. In the Ptolemaic period stamps are found on petitions in P. Reinach 18 and BGU. VIII, p. 4; on a contract dated 107/6 B.C. published in *Chron. d'Égypte*, XIII (1938), p. 151, on none of which can the lettering be read. A fine Ptolemaic circular red stamp impression, of the first century B.C. if it is contemporary with the writing below it and on the recto, is in the collection of University College, London (mentioned by Sayce in Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*, p. 29, no. 13). Under the stamp on the verso is *Σωτήρι*[*χος*, and further traces of ink (signature of authenticating official?), while the recto contains part of an oath formula. The inscription on the stamp running round the inside of a circle reads . . . *ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΛΑ* = (the editor's translation '32nd year' is a mistake). In the Roman period the following stamps are found: CPR. I. 11 (pp. 37–8), with plate (a fine example); **174**; P. Lond. II, p. 206, no. 298, with Wilcken's reading of the stamp in *Archiv*, III. 244; BGU. I, p. 192 (the stamp itself, cf. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, loc. cit.); BGU. 748; CPR. I. 1; CPR. I. 170, verso. In P. Lond. 277 (II, pp. 217–18) at the end of a contract of loan occurs the rubric *ἀντίγρ*(*αφον*) *χαράγμ*(*ατος*); *ἔτους θ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Μεχεὶρ θ ἀναγέγραπται διὰ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Σοκνοπάιου Νήσου* (read *-ῳ*) *γραφίου*, cf. Wenger, loc. cit. Characteristic of all these stamps of the Roman period is that they are usually in two concentric circles: the outer carries the date, according to the imperial titulature; the inner sometimes a representation of the emperor, in two cases the letters *γρ*, usually expanded *γρ*(*αφείου*). The use of the stamp by *γραφεῖον* officials for authentication of a document is proved by the phrase *κεχάρακται* (Meyer, *Jur. Pap.* 7, 2, etc.), and the formula cited in P. Ryl. II, p. 174 *ἐπιτέταχα τοῖς μάρτυσι γράψαι καὶ τῷ πρὸς τῷ γραφέιῳ χαράξαντι ἀποδοῦναι*.

The present stamp does not seem to show any of the characteristics just described, and it is not easy to see what part the *νομάρχης* played in the grapheion. It cannot indeed be taken as certain that the stamp is a part of the grapheion procedure, for it is curious that on one of its applications the stamp runs across the cut edge of the papyrus. Possibly its purpose was to mark a sheet of papyrus for official use. Mr. T. C. Skeat suggests another possibility, that the lease was written on an empty piece of papyrus cut from a previous document which was itself stamped on the verso, and points in support of this view to the five vertical folds and the ancient patching.

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602. LOAN

Arsinoite nome. 9·5×13·7 cm. March, 25 B.C.

Note of hand of a loan of 8 silver drachmas for not more than two months, made at Karanis. The ill-formed spidery handwriting and fragmentary state of the papyrus make the text, of little importance in itself, difficult to read and interpret.

(Ἔτους) ϵ̣ Κ̣[αίσαρος Φα]μ̣ενὼθ ϗ̣ . ἐν Καρανί(δι) Σισηρ̣ι̣[ ]
Π̣αρα[.] . ι̣ος δα(νεῖον) ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμῶν) ὀκτώι, (γίνονται) ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμαὶ) η̣
[δ]ι̣᾽ Ἀφ̣[ρο]δίσιος ὁ̣ καὶ Πνεφερῶς Χαληᾳ̣σι̣ς
. . [. . . .] . υ̣ [. .]ελης Ἀκουσιλέου Πέρσης τ̣-
ῆς [ἐπ]ι̣γ̣ονῆς ἔχ[ω]ι τὸ δανῆον ἀργ̣υρ̣[ί-]
ου ἐπ̣[ισ]ῄμ̣ου δραχμὰς ὀκτὼι τόκου τ̣ο̣ῦ̣
π̣[. .] . . [. . μ]ῆ̣να πυροῦ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἀπ̣ο̣δ̣-
ώσωι ἐν [μ]ηνὶ Παχὼν τοῦ ἐνεσ̣[τῶτος]
ϵ [ἔτου]ς καθ̣ό̣τι προγέγραπται. Δωρόθε̣ο[ς]
Μ̣[ενά]νδρου γ̣έ̣γραφα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀξιωθ̣[ει-]
ς [δ]ι̣ὰ̣ [τὸ] φά̣[σ]κ̣ειν αὐτὸν μὲ ἐπίστασθαι γ̣[ράμματα]

(2nd hand) [(ἔτους)] ϵ̣ Κ̣αίσαρος Ἰ̣σοκράτους χειρ̣ό̣γ̣ρ̣αφον [δανείου]

2. l. *ὀκτώ* 3. l. *Ἀφροδισίου τοῦ καὶ Πνεφερῶτος* 5. l. *ἔχω, δανεῖον* 6. l. *ὀκτὼ* 8. l. *ἀποδώσω* 11. l. *μὴ*

'5th year of Caesar, Pharmouthi 2. At Karanis, Siseris (?) son of Para . . . , loan of 8 drachmas of silver, total 8 dr.

'Through Aphrodisios, also called Pnepheros, son of Chaleas: I . . . son of Acousileos, Persian of the epigone, have received the loan of 8 drachmas of coined silver at interest of . . . and I will repay in the month of Pachon of the present 5th year as is previously set down. I, Dorotheos son of Menander have written for him at his request, since he states that he is illiterate.

'5th year of Caesar, Isocrates' note of loan.'

1. Not *Ἰ̣σ̣ο̣κ̣ρ̣ά̣[της*, as in l. 12 (with which we do not see how to reconcile it) and not *τῆς Ἥρα[κλείδου]* | *μερίδος*.

Form of document difficult to account for. Lines 1–2 appear simply to be a heading, with date, name (of creditor?), amount of loan. There is no greeting formula. From l. 4 the text is simply the debtor's receipt for the amount of the debt. There is a considerable space above l. 1, and nothing appears to be lost, but perhaps a loan *ὁμολογία* preceded in another column, cf. l. 9 *καθότι προγέγραπται*. In *Χαληᾳσις* presumably a nominal genitive lurks.

7. The reading *πυροῦ* appears certain, and makes restoration difficult. Could *ὑπαροῦ* be intended? At the beginning of the line *π̣[αν]τ̣ὸ̣[ς κατὰ μ]ῆνα* is too long.

Among other marks of the scribe's illiteracy the wrong division of words (in l. 4 *τ|ῆς* and l. 7 *ἀποδ|ώσω*) may be noted.

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603. PRIVATE LETTER

Oxyrhynchus. 17·2 × 26·3 cm. 7 B.C.

This letter formed part of an *εἰρόμενον* and to either side are fragments of other letters; of that on the right part of 13 lines remain (l. 6 runs *ἕως Σαμβ̣[* , for which see **613**) and the address on the verso (*Ἥρᾶι γραμματεῖ Διοσκουριδ(οῦ) βασιλ(ικοῦ) γρ(αμματέως) Ὀξυρυγχ(ίτου)*[1]). The Heras of this letter (probably in the same hand as **603**) may be identical with the Heracleides of **603**.

[1] This Dioscurides may be identified with the royal secretary of the same name in P.Oxy. IX. 1188 (A.D. 13).

Βάσσος [Ἡ]ρακλείδηι καὶ
Τρύφωνι χαίρειν.
Περὶ τῶν ἐποικίων ὡς τὰ
χώματα οὐκ ἀγείοχαν
ἐγράψατέ μοι · τοῦτο δὲ
οὐκ ἦν καθ' ὑμᾶς σήμερον
ἡμέρᾳ τοιαῦτά μοι γράφειν·
διὸ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔχετε τὰ
γενήματα αὐτῶν καὶ
στρατιώτην καὶ αὐτοὺς
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὓς
ὀχλῆσαι δύνασθε· ὥστε
ἐκτελέσατε συμβουλεύωι.

(2nd hand) Ἔρρωσθε . (ἔτους) κγ Καίσαρος
Μεσορὴ $\overline{κγ}$

Verso Ἡρακλείδηι καὶ Τρύφωνι εἰς Ὀξυρυγχ(ίτην)

4. l. *ἀγείοχασι* 13. l. *συμβουλεύω*

'"Bassus to Heracleides and Tryphon, greeting." You wrote to me about the hamlets, how they haven't finished the work on the embankments. It was not for you to write such a letter to me today; therefore late as it is take their crops (employing) a soldier and the men themselves whom you can impress. So I advise you to finish the job. Farewell. Dated the 23rd year of Caesar, Mesore 23 (16 August 7 B.C.).'

12–13. Probably the writer at first intended his letter to close with the imperative *ἐκτελέσατε* and added *συμβουλεύω* as an afterthought. Or should we emend to *ἐκτελέσητε* on the supposition that the writer is translating, all too literally, *suadeo ut peragatis*?

604. CONFIDENTIAL LETTER

Provenance unknown. 11 × 26 cm. Third century A.D.

The lower portion of a private letter in a cursive hand of the third century, probably early or middle rather than late, with an interesting direction at its foot 'To Theodosius by a safe friend because it is of great importance to our friends'. Theodosius is not the correspondent addressed in the letter (he is named on the verso) but an intermediary in the delivery. The writer may have been on military service—he alludes to his 'honoured leader' *ὁ κύριος μου ἡγεμών* (cf. l. 11 note). Everyone in the letter is described as brother, and the writer was a person of some standing in a large circle of correspondents. He employed a clerk to write for him, and forwarded another letter with this one for delivery in Alexandria.

Owing to the loss of the first ten lines we do not know what the matter of importance was. The direction suggests a period of unrest in Egypt when travelling was a chancy affair (cf. P. Ant. 43). It is possible that our writer and his correspondents were Christians. The constant use of *ἀδελφός*, and the sense of secrecy and need for introductions might be thought to support this interesting possibility, as does the name Theodosius, normally confined to

Jews and Christians. On the other hand, the term *ξυστοφόρος* suggests a pagan cult title, and a Christian should not employ the *ἀβάσκαντος* wish.

Recto Ἀ[*μμώνιος* (?) *Ἀνδρονίκῳ χαίρειν*] · [3] *ἐλπ̣[ι* 3 lines lost [7] *τ̣[* [8] *ε . [* [9] *τα* [. . . . .] . [

[10] *λαβ*[. . . *ἐ*]*χορήγε*[*ι* . . . *ἐ*]*ξ̣ ἀρχῆ*[*ς*]
καπ[. . .] . *ρηυλα̣* [. . .]*ς ὡς ε̣ὖ*
πράσσ̣ει̣ ὁ κύρι̣[*ος*] *μου ἡγεμών*[*ν*].
καὶ ν̣ῦν οὖν E[*ὐ*]*τολμίῳ τ*[*ῷ*]
ἀδελφ[*ῷ*] *ἔγραψ*[*α*] *περὶ τούτ̣ο*[*υ*],
[15] *καὶ π*[*ερὶ*] *Ἡραίσ*[*κ*]*ου τοῦ ἀδελφ*[*οῦ*]
τῷ αὐτῷ Εὐτολμίῳ ἔγρ[*α-*]
ψα σ̣υ̣νιστῶ̣ν αὐτὸν οἷ̣[*ς*]
μέλλεις ἐπιδοῦναι τὸ ἐπιστ[*ό-*]
λειον. παρέστω ἅμα σοι Ἡρά-
[20] *ισκος. πρόσεχε τοῖς παι-*
δίοις καὶ τῇ οἰκείᾳ καθὼς ἠ-
ξίωσά σε, καὶ περὶ ὧν βούλει
ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῇ Ἀντίνου
ἐπίστειλον μοι ἡδέως ἔχον-
[25] *τι. προσεῖπε τὰ ἀβάσκαν-*
τα σου παιδία ἅμα τῇ συμ-
βίῳ σου. προσαγορεύει
σε ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἄπυγχις. τὸ συν-
δεδεμένον ἐπιστόλιον ἐσφρα-
[30] *γισμένον Λα*$^{\tau}$*κίῳ ἀπόστειλον*
εἰς Ἀλεξανδρίαν τῷ ἀδελφῷ.
(2nd hand) *Ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔχομαι*
ἀδελφέ.
(1st hand) *Θεοδοσίῳ δι' ἀσφαλοῦς φίλου*
[35] *διὰ τάχους ἐπιδὴ ἀναγκαῖά*
ἐστιν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους.

Verso Ἀ̣μμ̣[*ώνιος* (?)] *ξυστοφο̣ . . .* *Ἀνδρονίκῳ ἀδελφῷ.*

[15] *Ηραϊσκον* [17] *συνϊστων* [20] *Ηραϊσκος* [35] *αναγ'καια*, and l. *ἐπειδή*.

'. . . that my honoured leader is in good health. And now therefore I have written about him to brother Eutolmius, and I have written about brother Heraiscus to the same Eutolmius, introducing him to those to whom you are to give the letter. Heraiscus should be present along with you. Attend to your children and your household, as I asked you, and write to me about anything you want in Antinoupolis, for I am pleased with you. Greet your children, whom I pray may be preserved from the evil eye, and your consort. Brother Apunchis salutes you. Forward under seal to Alexandria to brother Latkios the letter enclosed with this. I pray for your health, brother.

'To Theodosius by a safe friend because it is of great importance to our friends.'

On the back, address 'From Ammonius (xystophorus?) to brother Andronicus.'

10. Alternatively restore *ἐ*]*χορηγε*[*ῖτο*.

11. If third letter is not *π*, *γι* also possible, *τι* less likely. Before *ρ*, *ε*, *α*, *υ* possible, in that order of preference. It is not clear whether *εὖ πράσσει* is to be taken in its normal sense of 'be in good health', or as approving some action.

ἡγεμών: just possibly of the prefect of Egypt (cf. P. Oxy. 1668, 17), but if so he is not in Alexandria. It is more likely to be someone in fairly close relationship to the writer, e.g. an immediate military superior. In the Roman period *ἡγεμών*, however, seems to be avoided as a military title, and Preisigke, *WB.*, cites only P. Stud. xxii. 92, 2.

17. *συνιστῶν*: for this form of *συνίστημι* cf. 2 Corinthians vi. 4.

21. *οἰκείᾳ* more probably miswritten for *οἰκίᾳ* than adjective with e.g. *γυναῖκι* or *πόλις* or *πατρίς*.

23. *Ἀντίνου* sc. *πόλει*.

30. *Λατκίῳ*: not previously known as name.

37. *ξυστοφο̣ . . .*; *ξυστοφόρος*? though the traces are too faint for identification. It does not seem possible to read *ξυστάρχης*.

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605. PRIVATE LETTER

Arsinoite nome? 8·5×34 cm. Third century.

Letter from a correspondent whose name is lost to his mother, wife, or sister. A piece amounting to almost half (cf. the suggested minimum restoration of l. 21) has been lost on the left-hand side.

]*ν̣ῃ τῆι*
χαίρε]*ιν*.
] *εὐθὺς ε-*
]*νω τῇ̣*
] *τοῦ Θὼθ*
ἴ]*σως με*
]*δωρον κο-*
] . *εναι νοῦν*
]*ι ἱμάτια*
]*ο̣ς δὲ ποιη-*
] . *ουσα μοι*
]*ο̣να καὶ*
] . . *καὶ τούτων*
] . *α ἐργαστὰ ἐν*
] . *πέμψωμαι* [[*σοι*]]
]*λησα δὲ διὰ τῶν*
]*ουντων σοι ταῦτα*
] *τὰ γράμματα οὐδὲν*
] *π̣έμψασθαι μή πως*
] . . [*ἔ*]*τ̣ι λαλεῖν σὺν θε-*
[*ᾧ ὅταν εἰς Φιλαδέ*]*λ̣φειαν ἐπανέρχωμαι*
ἀνε]*νέγκω σοι ὅσα δεῖ*
] . *εναι Σερῆνον τὴν*

ἀδελ]φὴν ἀνενεγκεῖν
] οὕτω δὲ συμφέρει
τ]ῶνδ' ἐπείσθη ταχέως
] . οιον ἐπὶ αὐτὸ[[.]]ν πεμ-
[ψ]ηται μεθ' ὅσων δεῖ ἐπε[[μ]]
[μ ἐν Καρ]ᾳνίδει ὢν ἀσπαζο-
[ἄσπασ]αι πολλὰ τὸν γλυκύτα-
[τον]ν μου ἀδελφὸν Ξάνθι-
[ππον] κ̣α̣ὶ̣ γ̣υ̣ν̣α̣ι̣α̣ν καὶ τὸν ἀγα-
] . Ἀ̣λ̣εξάνδρου καὶ τὰ
γλυκύ]τ̣α̣τ̣α̣ αὐτοῦ τέκνα
] . . α καὶ Θερμουθι-
] . . υ̣χ̣ι̣ο̣υ καὶ Σαν-
] Α̣τ̣ρ̣η . . ν καὶ Φι-
] . [.] . Ε̣ὐ̣τ̣έρπην καὶ τοὺς
] . καὶ τοὺς
] . . [.] ο̣ [. .] τα [. .]οτονο
] . χ . [. ἐρ]ρ̣ῶ̣σ̣θ̣α̣ί̣ σε εὖ-
[χομαι] κ̣[α]ὶ̣ ε̣ὐ̣τ̣υ̣χ̣οῦσαν διὰ
[παντός]

9. ἱματια

3. e.g. *λαβὼν τὸ ἐπιστόλιον τοῦτο] εὐθὺς ἐ[πίπεμπε.*
14. *ἐργαστά* is not cited in LSJ.
23. *εἰ]δέναι* is reconcilable with the traces.
32. *γυνᾳ̣ι̣αν* apparently: more probably by double error for *γυναῖ⟨κ⟩α{ν}* than formed from *γυναῖον.*

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606. BUSINESS LETTER

Provenance unknown. 8·5×26 cm. Late third century A.D.

Part of a letter, preceded by some accounts, and dealing with recovery of sums of money and objects. The letter is continued on the verso where receipt of clothes in pawn is mentioned.

Recto (1st hand)] . αμ . . [. .]
(2nd hand)] χου
]γγλοκεραμι̣[. .]
] δ′
] ÷ αγ′
(3rd hand)] ὑπόμνησιν
] . τεσσάρων
]ων ὑπὸ λι-

[τρ . . παρ]ὰ τοῦ ἀδελ-
φοῦ σου Θωνίου, [[τὰ]]
ἀργυρίου τάλαντον
ἕν. ἐκομισάμην
παρὰ τοῦ λινοπλοί-
του τέσσαρας λίτρας
μόνας. λοιπ(αὶ) παρ᾽ αὐτῷ.
τὰ ἐπιλοίματα ἐκομι-
σάμην ἀπὸ τοῦ τέκτο-
νος · ἀφ᾽ οὗ ὀφείλει (δραχμῶν) ᾽Β
ἐπὶ λόγου ἔσχον (δραχμὰς) Ἀ,
κόμισε παρὰ Ἀπίωνος
σάκκον ἕνα τριχερι
καὶ ἄλλο σίππινον.
οὐδὲν ἔσχον ἀπ᾽ οὐ-
δένος ἐν τῇ οἰκί-
ᾳ Ἀπίωνος. χαλ-
κινῶν

Verso (same hand as recto hand 3, in two columns across fibres):

Col. i

ρον
] θε
. . αι . . κ . ιισ . [6] . . [6] εἰς
Ἀλεξανδρίαν γ . . [. . .]υν πρὸς αὐτὴν,
καὶ δέξε τοῦ παντός. νομίζω ὅτι συν-
φέρι ἡμεῖν οὐ μόνον ἀπὸ ταύτης {αλ}
ἀλλ᾽ ἀφ᾽ οὗ ἐὰν εὕρῃς.

Col. ii

ἔχομεν δὲ λ[[.]]ω
τίκην ἔνσημος καὶ
φακάριον λινᾶ τοῦ
Ἱέρακος τοῦ Συνλαυρίτου.
ὑποτέτικεν αὐτὰ (δραχμῶν) υ .
κεῖται ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ
κάμπτρᾳ καὶ τὰ ἐνεχθέν-
τα σοῦ ἱμάτια.

12. After εν middle stop in original. Cf. **624** introd. 13. l. λινοπλύτου 16. See note 20. l. κόμισαι 22. l. ἄλλον 31. l. δέξαι 32. l. φέρει, ἡμῖν 35. l. λωτίκιον ἔνσημον 36. l. φακιάριον 37. ϊερακος 38. ϋποτετικεν, l. ὑποτέθηκεν

9 ff. 'One talent of silver from your brother Thonius. I have recovered only 4 pounds from the launderer; the rest are with him. I got the remnants from the carpenter: from his debt of 2000 drachmae I got 1000 on account. Get from Apion one sack of hair (?) and another of tow. I have obtained nothing from anyone in Apion's house. Of the bronze . . .,'

31 ff. 'I think that is to our advantage not only from her but from anyone you find. We have a fine counterpane and face towel, both of linen, from Hierax the Synlaurite. He has pledged them for 400 drachmae. They are lying in the great chest together with your clothes which were put there.'

3. Not δι]πλοκεράμι[α.

16. ἐπιλοίματα: for ἐπιλείμματα? In P. Oxy. 1765. 16 apparently the same word appears as ἐπιλύμματα (πέμψον μοι τὰ ἐπιλύμματα, in a letter to a cloth weaver).

22. σίππινον: the adjective has apparently not yet been reported, but cf. σίππιον, σιππουργός, σιππινομεστός.

25. The marginal entry is very dubiously read.

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607. LETTER ON THE CURRENCY

13·8×27·7 cm. Late third century.

This letter, already well known from a quotation of the most important lines by P. M. Meyer in his note to *Juristische Papyri*, 73, 7, was fully published by C. H. Roberts and H. Mattingly in *The Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress*, London, 1936, pp. 246 ff. To this and to the comments by U. Wilcken (*Archiv*, XIII. 240–1), T. C. Skeat (*JEA*. XXV (1939), 81–2), and A. Segrè (*Byzantion*, XV (1940–1), 252–5), who dissents in part from the interpretation given of the numismatic evidence, the reader is referred for a discussion of the problems involved. In what follows a brief account is given of the circumstances and purpose of the letter without attempting to restate the numismatic evidence.

The letter is from Dionysius, who, since he can call on the services of an *officialis*, is in government service, to Apion, a βοηθός or minor civil servant who, as he has in his charge moneys belonging to Dionysius, is probably directly subordinate to him and may also have been his steward. Dionysius has had information that an Imperial edict has been promulgated depreciating the Italian *nomisma* (elsewhere described as ἀργύριον) to the value of half a nummus; the effect of the edict would of course be to send the nominal price of goods to double the price current before the edict. The edict cannot yet have become common knowledge (else Apion would not have had to be told of it); Dionysius presumably owes his inside information to his official position and intends to take advantage of it by converting, through Apion, his available cash into goods as soon as possible. On the verso Apion acknowledges the receipt of the letter and then (it seems) returned the incriminating document to its writer.

Palaeographically the letter may be dated to late third or early fourth century. Neither writer nor recipient can be certainly identified from other sources, but it is worth noting that the lot which included this papyrus consisted very largely of the Theophanes archive and that the father of Theophanes (himself in government service and resident in the same part of the country) was called Dionysius (cf. **625**) and that there is a fair chance that **607** is really part of the same archive. In that case a date either side of A.D. 300 would be indicated. A *terminus post quem* is provided (as pointed out by Skeat, loc. cit.) by the expression οἱ δεσπόται ἡμῶν; the title δεσπότης does not seem to have been affected by any emperor before Diocletian and no instance is cited by Preisigke-Kiessling, *WB*. III. 2, earlier than A.D. 299.[1]

[1] This is true of the papyri and holds good generally for the *regular* use of the title; but it occurs on an inscription from Asia in the Severan age (CIG. 3956b) as well as in literary writers, and the expression ὁ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης δ. occurs in several inscriptions of the third century (see D. Magie, *De Romanorum . . . Vocabulis Sollemnibus*, pp. 66–7).

We may also note (to resume part of Mr. Mattingly's argument) that (1) *τὸ Ἰταλικὸν νόμισμα* (or *ἀργύριον*: the two are synonymous) can here denote only coinage or money in general; (2) the 'Italian', i.e. Imperial, money is contrasted with some other kind of money; the latter must be the local money of Alexandria which was not minted after A.D. 296; (3) *νοῦμμος* is the name of a definite monetary value, probably the *sestertius* (see note to l. 5); (4) as already noted, the nominal value of the 'Italian' money is reduced (a measure of deflation).

References to 'Italian money' are found as late as A.D. 320–1 (*Stud. Pal.* XX. 85: on the date of this see Skeat, loc. cit.); but the contrast which our text implies would be most in place in the period of transition immediately after the closure of the Alexandrian mint. Further, Diocletian's edict of A.D. 301 *De Maximis Pretiis* was designed to counter a sharp rise in prices; this rise may well have been caused by the reduction of the face value of the *sestertius* recorded in **607**. On numismatic grounds Mr. Mattingly would prefer a date just before 296; but for the reasons given above a date between 296 and 301 seems to us more probable, particularly as the rise in prices must have been immediate and it is unlikely that Diocletian would have waited long before attempting to check it.

Διονύσιος *Ἀπίωνι*
χαίρειν·
προσέταξεν ἡ θεία τύχη τῶν
δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν τὸ Ἰταλικὸν νόμισμα
εἰς ἥμισυ νούμμου καταβιβασθῆναι· σπού-
δασον οὖν πᾶν τὸ Ἰταλικὸν ἀργύριον
ὃ ἔχεις ἀναλῶσαι ἀγοράσας μοι εἴδη
παντοδαπὰ καὶ π[ο]ίας εὑρίσκεις τιμῆς.
τούτου τε ἕνεκα ἀπέστειλα πρός σε
ὀφφ(ικιάλιον)· προγίνωσκε δὲ ὡς εἰ βουληθείης
κακουργίᾳ τινὶ χρήσασθαι οὐκ ἀν-
έξομαί σου. (2nd hand) *ἐρρῶσθαί σε πολλοῖς χρόνοις*
εὔχομαι, ἀδελφέ.

Verso (along fibres).

(3rd hand) *Φαρμοῦθι ῆ παρέλαβα τὴν ἐπιστολὴν π(αρὰ) τοῦ ὀφφ(ικιαλίου)*
(4th hand) *Διονύσιος* *Ἀπίωνο(ς) Ἀντινοέ(ως) βοηθ(οῦ) Διονύσιος*

4. *ἴταλικον* P., and in 6 10. *βουληθειης* corr. from *βουλειθειης*

'Dionysius to Apion, greeting. The divine Fortune of our masters has ordained that the Italian coinage be reduced to the half of a *nummus*. Make haste, therefore, to spend all the Italian silver that you have on purchases, on my behalf, of goods of every description at whatever price you find them. For this purpose I have dispatched an *officialis* to you. But take notice that should you intend to indulge in any malpractices I shall not allow you to do so. I pray, my brother, that you may long be in health. (*Verso*) I have received the letter from the *officialis* on the 8th of Pharmuthi.'

4. For the opening words cf. P. Oxy. 2106, 2–3.

5. *καταβιβασθῆναι*: *καταβιβάζειν*, 'to bring down', 'to lower', is regularly used metaphorically, although not in the sense 'to depreciate', of which this text appears to provide the first instance; it is, however, an easy enough development from its other usages. In the only other place in which it occurs in the papyri

(P. Lond. IV. 1349, 27) it means 'to remove from office'. For use of nummus= sestertius cf. a metrological fragment, **533** [τὸ δὲ] *τροπαϊκὸν ἔχει [νούμ]μους δύο*; also H. Mattingly in *Num. Chron.* 1927, 219 f.

7. *εἴδη*. Frequent in this sense in the papyri, and contrasted with money, e.g. BGU. 276, 21 (2/3 c.) *τὴν τιμὴν τῇ μητρί μου ἀποκατάστησον ἢ τὸ εἶδος*.

10. *ὀφφικιάλιος*. This word occurs frequently from the third century onwards, v. Preisigke, *WB.*, s.v.

10–12. *εἰ βουληθείης . . . ἀνέξομαι*. This use of the optative, followed by an indicative present or future in the main clause, to express a possible contingency, is common in the Byzantine period and is also found earlier, especially with certain stock phrases of which *εἰ βουληθείης* is one, cf. R. C. Horn, *The Use of the Subjunctive and Optative Mood in the Non-Literary Papyri* (Philadelphia, 1926), p. 161. For a parallel case cf. P. Lond. 234 (II, p. 286), 16–19 (*c.* A.D. 346), which also contains the suggestion of a threat.

The most obvious *κακουργία* open to Apion would be to charge Dionysius for his purchases as a rate somewhat higher than the market price.

12. This closing formula is common throughout the third century. Vide Exler, *A Study in Greek Epistolography* (Washington, 1923), p. 76.

14. This line was presumably written by Apion on receipt of the letter: such an incriminating document may well have been returned to its writer, who at the same time would have wanted a receipt.

15. *Διονύσιος* is here part of the original address and occurs twice, perhaps because the papyrus was folded double. Or, if this address is that written by Apion on returning the letter to Dionysius, we should expect *παρά* to precede the name, but of this there is no trace.

V. LATIN DOCUMENTS[1]

608. OFFICIAL LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

? Oxyrhynchus. 15×23 cm. First half of second century.

In this careful and elaborately phrased, if brief, note an imperial slave is commended to the notice of Claudius Hermeros, an imperial procurator, not otherwise known, by Ulpius Celer, his senior in the hierarchy, as the terms of the letter show. One other such letter is known from the Latin papyri—P. Berol. 11649 published by W. Schubart in *Amtliche Berichten aus der königlichen Kunstsammlungen*, XXXVIII (1917), 334 and reproduced with an excellent facsimile in J. Mallon, R. Marichal, C. Perrat, *L'Écriture Latine*, No. 22; this was written in the same century and in a hand not unlike that of **608**, but is more personal in tone and comes from a lower social milieu. **608** is written in an elegant cursive slightly influenced by rustic capital; words are separated by points and long syllables are occasionally marked by accents; ligatures are the exception rather than the rule. (A facsimile of it will be found in E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, II. 228.)[2] Letters of introduction almost inevitably follow a set pattern; this pattern as it appears in the papyri has been studied by C. W. Keyes (*Am. Journ. Phil.* LVI (1935), 39 f.,) who points out how the Latin letter was influenced by its Greek predecessor.

[U]l[p]ius Celer · Hermeroṭ[i]
[suo]ʹ salute[m]
[. . .] ọṇem · domini nostri · impeṛ[a-]
tores · servum · hominem · mei
5 dómesticum · et cárum · rogo
domine · commendatum · haḅ[eas]
]. est enim · digniṣsimụṣ · et pro
]. [. .] ias cessu · et · favóre tuó cui · quid
]l [.]ṭibi quid · at dignitatem · eius perṭ[i-]
10 nens praestiteris · nón dissi[mulo]
mihi grátissimum · futurụ[m]
Vale

Verso

T(iti) · f(ilio) · Claụd[i]o Hermeroti proc(uratori) ·
Aug(usti) ·

(2nd hand)

[1] To these should be added **623**, from the Archive of Theophanes.

[2] For a further study of the hand see J. Mallon in *Emerita*, XIII (1945).

ḍạt(um) Panop[o]ḷi Celere
. [·] . [·]ḍẹ · técto

3. l. *imperatoris* 9. l. *ad*

'Ulpius Celer to Hermeros, greeting. Allow me, sir, to commend to your notice . . . on, a slave of our lord the Emperor, a member of my household and esteemed by me. He is most deserving of advancement and of your favour, and I do not disguise that any service you can render him in his career will be most welcome to me. Farewell.

(*Verso*) To Claudius Hermeros, son of Titus, imperial procurator. (2nd h.) Given at Panopolis by me Celer. . . .'

1. Ulpius Celer may plausibly be identified with the correspondent of Apollonius, strategus of Heptakomia, in P. Brem. 10. His exact position is uncertain; that it was not the highest is evident from his calling Apollonius ἀδελφέ; he may have been epistrategus.

3. e.g. [*The*]*onem*.

6. *commendatum habeas*: for other parallels to ἔχειν συνεσταμένον see Keyes, op. cit., pp. 42–3.

7–8. The marginal addition is in a small and rapid cursive.

13. The expansion of the abbreviation is very doubtful. A praenomen would normally precede *Titi filio*, but there is no sign of any ink preceding these letters and it is unlikely that much papyrus has been lost here. *Tito Flavio* is unattractive, though not impossible at this period. Or we may suggest, on the analogy of ἀποδός, that the letters represent *tradas fac*.

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609. OFFICIAL LETTER

48·5×30 cm. A.D. 505.

This letter was first published, with an excellent facsimile, by K. Brandi in the *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, V (1914), pp. 269 ff. (see also Wilcken, *Archiv*, VI. 444) from a photograph in the possession of Ludwig Traube, and only shortly before his article was published was Brandi aware that the original was in the Rylands collection. With its help it has proved possible to improve Brandi's text in one or two places; these are recorded in the critical notes. The letter is, in effect, a call-up notice served on an inhabitant of Hermopolis by order of the Count of the Thebaid Frontier through the local tribune, in which the conditions which would exempt him from conscription are carefully stated. Palaeographically it is of interest to note the close parallels to the contemporary Ravenna hands which Brandi has pointed out.

The text is written along the fibres in a rounded, flowing cursive. The papyrus has been firmly stuck to a piece of cardboard so that it is impossible to see whether or no the verso is blank without endangering it.

[Fḷ(avius) Cons]tantinius Theofanes come⟨s⟩ et ṿịr inl(ustris) com(es) de(votissimorum) v(irorum) dom(esticorum) et rei miḷ(itaris) Ṭḥ[e]b(aici) lim(itis) 'Fl'(avio)[. . . . . .] u [.]'ṛt'e sive The[o]doti v(iro) d(evotissimo) trib(uno) Hermupoli deg(enti).

[. . . . . .] . e̩ridero sacra iussione domini nostri Anastasii piissimi ac triumfatoris semper Augusti [e qua n]umeris s̩upplementi caus[a] i[u]niores robustis corporibus adsociarentur Heracleon fil(ium) Constantinii

5 [ortum e] civitati Hermupolitana in vexillatione prudentiae tuae pro tempore credita edictio mea m̩il̩it̩a̩ṛe̩ prae̩[cip]it

[eiusq]ụe nomen sị ex gene⟨re⟩ oritur militari et ṇeque curialis nec praesidalis est nec invecillọ
ç̣orpọ̣re
[. . . .].ịs nec censibus adscribtos matriculis eiusdem numeri inseri facito annonas ei ex die iduuṃ
[. . . . .].m Sabiniano et Theodọ̣rọ vịṛịs clarissimis consulibus ministrari curaturus cum c[e]ṭẹṛis
[. . . .]ḷịbus suis muniis militaribus o[p]eram navaturo ita tamen si octavum decimum annụm
10 [pereg]isse dinoscitur.

(2nd hand) ⸸ bene
vale ⸸ conplevi ⊢ Γ ⊢ voi ꝺꝺ
(1st hand) bene (3rd hand) . [. . .] .
vale ṃ [. .] . ṭ [. .] . ⅄

1. *Cons*]*tantinus* Brandi. *inl com*ʃ (*com̓* Brandi) *dẽ uú dom̓m̓ lim̓* P. *Fl*ʃ is added well above the line in large letters, the *t* in *rte* is written small just above the *r* and *e* (.....*u*..*e* Brandi). l. *The*[*o*]*doto* 2. *u' 'd trib*ʃ P 3. .....*pi*..*ero* Brandi 4. *n*]*umeris* corr. from *n*]*umiris* *i*[*u*]*niores* corr. from *iunioris* (*iunioris* Brandi) *fil*ʃ P 5. l. *civitate in* added later *rẹcipẹṛẹ prạẹçịpịṭ* Brandi 6. suppl. Brandi. *geneoritu* (for *genere ortus*) Brandi. l. *inbecillo* (corr. from *incu*..) 7. l. *adscriptus* 8. end *ç* [.....] Brandi 9. l. *tamen* 10. suppl. Brandi

'Flavius Constantinius Theophanes, count, *vir illustris*, count of the most faithful household troops and of the military administration of the Thebaid frontier to Flavius . . . . . alias Theodotus the most faithful tribune stationed at Hermopolis. Since I shall be taking steps in accord with the sacred order of our lord Anastasius, the most religious, the conqueror, the perpetual Augustus whereby young men of strong physique are to be attached to units to bring them up to strength, this my order hereby instructs Heracleon, son of Constantinius, a native of the city of Hermopolis to serve in the troop at present entrusted to your care; if he is of military family, is neither of senatorial nor of gubernatorial rank and is not . . . . . weak physique and is not enrolled on the census list, see to it that his name is entered on the register of the said unit, taking care that he is supplied from the ides of . . . in the year of the consulate of the most distinguished Sabinianus and Theodorus with the provisions together with the rest . . . . . and that he applies himself to his military duties—the above provided that he is known to have completed his eighteenth year. (*2nd hand*) Farewell. Checked by me. (*1st hand*) Farewell.'

3. At the beginning of this line the papyrus has warped and one piece is folded under the other; the facsimile is in consequence misleading. The sentence probably began with *cum*; it is difficult to see what the verb was which it governed. The *r*, though imperfect, is very probable and the traces do not justify reading e.g. *praevidero*. It is likely that a preposition (e.g. *e*) has dropped out before *sacra* (cf. critical note to l. 5).

5. The *Notitia Dignitatum* (*Or.* XXXI. 6, 24 ed. Seeck) lists a *cuneus equitum scutariorum* at Hermopolis.

6. *militare*: the *li* is clearly visible in the facsimile.

9. Although the *li* is not certain, *n* (e.g. *tironibus*) cannot be read. *Aequa*]*libus* is possible, but is not a military term.

12. On the meaning of *conplevi* and the parallels to it in the contemporary Ravenna documents see Brandi, op. cit., p. 280. Wilcken (loc. cit.) suggests that the signs following it and below it are probably shorthand.

The traces of writing in the third hand were ignored by Brandi; probably the addressee placed here his name and the date of receipt.

610. BILINGUAL REQUEST TO THE PREFECT

Provenance unknown. 9·5×12 cm. A.D. 223.

The interest of this fragment lies in the glimpse it gives of the chancery procedure of the Egyptian prefect in answering a *libellus*. The extant portion was no doubt preceded by the main body of the original request in Latin; according to all analogy the officer addressed must have been the prefect. What survives (the beginnings of lines are lost) contains (*a*) the last two lines of the original request, consisting of Roman consular date, in a loosely sprawling Latin cursive; (*b*) the signature in Greek of the applicant, made by his *curator* (ἐπίτροπος); (*c*) the prefect's *subscriptio*, arranged as follows: date in Greek, note in Latin introducing in the words *exemplum subscriptionis* [*praefect*]*i* the prefect's authorization *recognovi*, followed by reference in Greek to page and roll of the prefect's register of answered *libelli*. Then come the names, in the genitive, of seven witnesses. With the exception of the word *recognovi*, the whole of this section, both Latin and Greek, was written by the same hand, the Latin being a clear 'majuscule cursive'.

The word *exemplum* prefixed to *subscriptionis* shows that we are dealing with a copy. Perhaps the impression of a different hand in the word *recognovi* is false, and the scribe has been unconsciously influenced in reproducing a different hand. It is, however, tempting to take it as the prefect's autograph authentication, as is apparently the case in other examples (e.g. P. Oxy. 720; SB. 1010). A plausible explanation of the nature of these documents is suggested by Professor A. H. M. Jones, that applications of this kind were in fact tendered in duplicate, one copy being then retained in the prefect's chancery (and perhaps published by posting on official notice-boards in Alexandria),[1] the other returned to the applicant. Possibly this was an alternative mode of procedure to the issue of authenticated copies, usually tablets, introduced by the formula *d.e.r.e.e.b.t.s.s.* (cf. Schulz, *JRS.* XXXIII (1943), 62). The witnesses, then, do not attest the authenticity of the copy but the transaction itself (cf. the phrase *actum* in e.g. SB. 6223 A, interior l. 7, exterior l. 2). No doubt their actual signatures were placed below in the last portion opposite their seals. They are described in l. 10 as]. *stationis* (of the prefect's office?), and it is worthy of remark that the names of two of them appear 25 years earlier, also as witnesses to a transaction of the prefect of Egypt, in SB. 6223.

The subject of the *libellus* is guess-work only: a common type of request made in this form is that of Roman ladies for a guardian, examples of which survive in P. Oxy. 720 and 1466, SB. 6223 (Grenfell, *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, II (1919), 258–62), P. Mich. 165, and Sanders, 'Appointment of a Guardian by the Prefect of Egypt', *AJA.* XLVI (1942), 94 ff. But our applicant was a man, and this possibility is therefore ruled out. Another type appears in P. Oxy. 1201 and SB. 1010 (Eger, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung*, XXXII. 378 ff.[2]) (cf. also P. Oxy. 2231) which are requests for *agnitio bonorum possessionis*. Such a request may lurk here, and has prompted the tentative restoration of τῆς διακατοχῆ]ς in l. 5. The fact

[1] By a coincidence P. Oxy. 35 recto (restored by Wilcken, *Hermes*, LV (1920), 32) contains a ἑρμηνεία τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν, such as perhaps followed below our text, of a *libellus* answered by publication in Alexandria by the prefect Aedinius Iulianus in the same consular year as the present text. It is tempting to try to connect them, but the names do not fit.

[2] A duplicate of the Greek translation of this application has turned up in a new fragment published by K. Kalbfleisch, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung*, LXIV. 416 ff.

that the application is made through an ἐπίτροπος (l. 3 = *curator* or *tutor*) may suggest that the applicant is a minor, though in that case the description ἀφῆλιξ would be expected in l. 3.

Datum (?) XIII Kal M]ạias Mario Maximo II
Roscio A]eliano cos ·

(*2nd hand*)] Ἀσκλᾶς Εὐπάτορος δι' ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἐπ[ι]τρόπου Τιβε-
ρίου . . . .]ρίωνος ἐπιδέδωκα τὰ βιβλίδια πρὸς τὴν
τῆς διακατοχῆ]ς (?) αἴτησιν.
(*3rd hand*) (ἔτους) β Φαρμοῦθ]ι̣ κε Exemplum subscriptionis
praefect]ị alia manu (*4th hand*) recognovi (*3rd hand*) κολ(λήματος) . . τό̣μου β̄
Signa (?) C. Tere]nti Saṛapammonis M · Iuli Feliṭis · L · Titi
] . .[. . .] Ṃ · Iuli [.] . . . clis M · Aureli
]. stationis
Space

1. *M]ạias*: the day and month (= April 20th, 223) are very uncertainly restored, and an attempt has been made to fit them to those in l. 6 where κε is clear but the Greek month uncertain. Here of the possible choices *r, t, a, n, l* only *a* suits the traces.

7. Upright stroke at beginning of the line can only be an *i* or *n*. *praefect]i* seems a perfectly possible restoration. The full phrase *exemplum subscriptionis* (*praefecti*) does not appear to be found elsewhere. For a discussion of procedure see Wilcken, *Hermes*, LV (1920), 1 ff. The prefect in the present case is presumably Aedinius Iulianus (P. Oxy. 35, recto; P. Flor. 382). Other prefectorial autographs are preserved in P. Oxy. 720 and 1201; SB. 1010.

8. *C. Tere]nti Sarapammonis M. Iuli Feliṭis*: cf. SB. 6223, 22 and 24.

611. DECLARATION BY A VETERAN

Arsinoite nome. 11×17 cm. A.D. 87/88.
PLATE 2.

Written on the recto and across the fibres. The top margin is preserved, but the ends of lines to both right and left are lost, and the document is broken after 7 lines. The restoration of imperial titles indicates that about 12 letters are lost to the right and about 16–20 to the left. The hand is a fairly uniform cursive, with few ligatures (mainly with *b*, eg. *ba* l. 7, *bi* l. 5), and in many cases words are separated by dots.

The declarant is a veteran [*honeste*] *missus* of *legio XXII*. His discharge took place in Sept. A.D. 87[1] and was explicitly accompanied by the grant of *conubium*. This interesting fact supports the view already put forward by E. G. Turner in *CR*. LXII. 146 in correcting P. Mich. 432, that non-citizens were drafted into *legio XXII* in A.D. 70. The declaration was made at Philadelphia, but its purpose can only be guessed owing to the fracture of the papyrus. Formulae and place of origin (cf. F. Schulz, *JRS*. XXXII. 78 ff.; XXIII. 55 ff.) forbid us to take it as a declaration of birth, nor was it made for census purposes, for A.D. 89/90 is the census year. The most probable view is that it is a declaration made to the local

[1] Or possibly 84. See note on l. 6.

authorities by our veteran on behalf of himself and his wife on settling down in the Fayum (cf. the phrase *βουλόμενος παρεπιδημεῖν πρὸς καιρὸν [ἐν νομῷ Ἀρσινο]είτῃ* in BGU. 113 = Wilcken, *Chr.* 458), and was accompanied by the appropriate extract from the prefect's *τόμος ἐπικρίσεων*.

Imp Caesare Do]mitiano · Augusto German[i]c̣[o] · [cos.
]s · anno vii Imp · Caesaris Domiṭ[iani Augusti Germanici
mense . . . . . d]i̯e · iii nomo Ar̤sinoite [v]i̯co Phil[adelphi ?10
. . . . . honeste] m̤issus · ex · leg · xxii testatus · est · qu[o]d̤ · p̣[16–20
5 13] Heraide cum qua sibi Opṭimus · Imper̤[ator conubium dedit
Id Septembribus] quae fu[e]r̤[u]nt anno v̇ii Imp · Caesa̤[ris Domitiani Aug Germ
12]s̤i̯o · cos · men̤s̤e Sebasṭo d̤i̯e x̄[v]i̯ et [

1. Domitian's 7th year is A.D. 87/8, but as the date of the document cannot be fixed to either Sept.–Dec. 87 or Jan.–Aug. 88, no definitive restoration can be made. Domitian was consul in both years, in A.D. 87 cos. xiii with L. Volusius Saturninus as colleague, in A.D. 88 cos. xiv with Q. Minucius Rufus as colleague.

2. It is assumed that the consular date was followed by a closer dating in the Roman style, e.g., *XII Kal. Aprile*]s or whatever it may be.

3–4. Declarant's full name, father's name, tribe, in the lacuna.

testatus: *quod* most probably introduces a clause setting out the circumstances of the *testatio*, the object clause of which fell in the lost portion. *Testatus est* may be used in sense *testes adhibuit* (cf. *Vocabularium Iurisprudentiae Romanae*), in which case accusative and infinitive is to be expected: or compare *testatus est iuratusque dixit* in ILS. 9059, 33; J. Barns, *Chron. d'Égypte*, XLVIII (1949), 296–301.

The letter at the end of line 4 may also be read as c̣[.

5. In the context *cum qua Optimus Imperator*, etc., the restoration *conubium* seems to impose itself. For *optimus imperator*, the veteran's loyalty to his commander, cf. ILS. 9059, end, *beneficio . . . optimi principis*, also of Domitian.

6. *anno v̇ii*: there is a tiny hole at the foot of the first two upright strokes of the figure, so that the reading *anno iiii* cannot be excluded, though such a date would make the purpose of the declaration awkward to explain. *Mense Sebasto* (= Thoth) in the following line narrows the date down to September, and *Id*(*ibus*) is restored in an attempt to square the Roman and Egyptian dates.

7. *cos* seems fairly certain, and if so the date scheme (Egyptian regnal year, Roman consular date, Egyptian month and day) is a confused one. If there is an allusion here to something resembling a diploma, as Prof. A. H. M. Jones reminds us, the consuls would be suffects. One of the suffect consuls of 10 Sept. A.D. 87 is mentioned in ILS. 5045, ...*Prisco cos.*

The figure after *d̤i̯e* is rather cramped.

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612. MARRIAGE CONTRACT

Early second century.

This fragment, as is shown both by the hand which, though smaller (as might be expected from its position), is unmistakable, and by its content, is part of the same document as P. Mich. VII. 434—itself a union of two contiguous fragments in the Michigan collection.[1]

[1] The first was published by H. J. Wolff in *Aegyptus*, XVII (1937), pp. 463 ff.; this was re-edited together with the second fragment by H. A. Sanders in *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* LXIX (1938), pp. 104 ff., and then republished (with a plate) as P. Mich. VII. 434. To the literature quoted there should be added the juristically important article by L. Wenger in *SB. Akad. Wien.* CCXIX (1941), Abh. 1, and the edition of the two fragments by V. Arangio-Ruiz in *Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiustiniani*, III (*Negotia*), no. 17 (Florence, 1943).

The form of the entire document has been conclusively demonstrated by Wolff and Sanders; although written on papyrus it is a diploma analogous in form to the wax-tablet. Of this M (the Michigan fragment) forms the first page; on the recto[1] of the first page, written across the fibres, is the *scriptura interior*; on the verso, also across the fibres, are the signatures of the witnesses. **612** belongs to the second page of the diploma; on the verso, written across the fibres, is the *scriptura exterior*, while the recto (the join alone would show it to be the recto)[1] is blank. As our fragment is from the top of the page, it is clear that the writing of the *scriptura interior* did not extend beyond page 1 (as Sanders naturally thought it did). The explanation of the blank second page is no doubt that the shape of the document, as Sanders saw, was determined by the needs of the writing on the two outer pages. The two texts, the inner and the outer, are not identical but usefully supplement each other.

On this Professor Sanders writes: 'The Rylands fragment is better[2] than M as exterior is usually more carefully copied than interior in double documents, but both show errors and changes in order. There was an original probably made out and checked by both parties and this original was copied both on exterior and interior of the document, but these were not checked.' None the less, it is surprising that such very considerable differences should exist both in phrasing and order, which far exceed the normal amount of error and variation to be expected when one document is copied from another.

Each text has, however, been materially improved by collation with the other and the final versions are the result of collaboration between Professors Sanders and Youtie and ourselves. We are indebted to them for allowing us to print below the revised version of the inner text (omitting only the signatures on the verso); as the two differ so widely we have thought it better to print only such supplements to **612** as are certain, or nearly so, rather than attempt to reconstruct the whole text. Some other supplements are suggested in the notes; for matters of interest not commented on below the reader may be referred to the ample notes of P. Mich. VII. 434. The only certain parallel to this document is the yet more fragmentary PSI. VI. 730, although P. Mich. VII. 442 is also relevant.

Since the publication of M a papyrus has been published, P. Phil. 11, which enables us to date our document rather more closely. In this a certain Caius Antistius Noumissianus appears as a middle-aged landowner in Philadelphia in A.D. 141; he can be identified with the Nomissianus of M, and thus our document will have been drawn up in the early part of the second century.

]·[ ]
[*c.* 48 ll.] Zenarion virginem e lege Iulia
[quae de maritandis ordinibus lata est liberorum procrea]ṇdorum causa in matrimonio
[eram collocavit + 34 ll.] · eique dotis dixit et dedit ea omni̩[a]
[*c.* 47 ll. p]a̩ternas ad iuger · du·a et semis semis
[*c.* 47 ll.]·tres et semis partem dimidiaṃ
[*c.* 48 ll.]ṇ tetar dua et semis cottatia
[*c.* 44 ll. stat]e̩ri VII et in veste aestumata

[1] For the distinction between recto and verso, particularly useful in this case, see Wilcken's notice of Wolff's article in *Archiv* XIII (1938), p. 144.

[2] Professor Youtie considers the order of M to be superior.

[*c.* 48 ll. e]t para[fe]ṛna · tunica et palliol ·
[*c.* 50 ll. Venere]ṃ et cadium dr · $\overline{\text{XXXXVIII}}$
10 [*c.* 55 ll.]ṣtatmō mnae VII et quạ[dr ·]
[*c.* 46 ll. servam p]aṭer · Heraidam [id]ẹ[m et]
[M. Petronius Servillius suamet ipse intulisse se dixit a]ḍ ṿ[i]ç̣um Phịḷạdelph[iam]
. . . . . .

1. A margin of 1·5 cm. is preserved at the top of the fragment; to the left of it, above the first surviving letter in l. 1, are traces of a letter or symbol unlike any other in the text.

2. *matrimoniō*: this is an ablative, not an accusative; cf. *statmō* in l. 10 and Wilcken's note, loc. cit.

3. Of the first letter part of a horizontal stroke survives; it resembles a *c* but might perhaps be read as *s* (cf. *causa* where the upper half of the *s* is almost horizontal); in that case *sponso cui est nomen M. Petronius Servillius*, slightly abbreviated and perhaps with *nomen* omitted, may be supplied.

3. On the significance of *eram* (*heram*) see Wenger, op. cit. 12 f. For the latter part of the line cf. P. Mich. VII. 442, 8–9: *eique dotis suae nomine dixit deditque.* Youtie observes that *nomine* is omitted both in M and in **612** and suggests that the omission may be due to Greek influence.

4. The point after *du* is misplaced. In M *juger* is treated as feminine (perhaps under the influence of ἀρούρα: see Sanders's note), and the point would suggest reading *juger*(*is*) *du*(*as*) here were it not that the *a* would then be left in the air. At the end of the line *semis* should be deleted as a dittography.

6. The writer has omitted the point after *tetar*(*ta*).

7 f. From here down to l. 12 the order and probably the phrasing of the two texts is completely different; thus in M four lines intervene between *aestumata* and *paraferna*.

8. *para*[*fe*]*rna*: we know of no other instance of this, but Graecisms are so common in this and similar documents that it need cause no surprise.

9. *Aug*· has been omitted after *dr.* or else is understood from the previous occurrence of the expression.

11. i.e. *pater*(*nam*).

12. The words supplied were probably slightly abbreviated; cf. l. 3 n.

P. Mich. 434

1 [C. Antistiu]ṣ Nomissianus filiam suam virginem [Zenarion secundum]
2 [legem Iulia]ṃ quae de maritandis ordinibus lat[a est liberorum pro-]
3 [creando]ṛum causa in matrimoniō eram collo[cavit sponso cui est]
4 [nomen] M. Petronius Servillius eique ḍọ[t]ịṣ ḍ[ixit et dedit ea omnia]
5 [quae intulit pro] ẹra s(upra) s(cripta) ạ[d] vicum[m] Philadel[phiam paternas ad iuger.]
6 [dua et semis et quadr]ạns catoecicas in locō Cor[±20]
7 [±12 ad eun]dem vicō paternas amm[inas ±16]
8 [±22 a]ṃpelitis, et in [au]ṛẹịṣ enotion p[e]rlọṇ-
9 [gum tetar · duae et semis et] cottatia tetar · una et semis, fiunt te[ta]r $\overline{\text{IIII}}$,
10 [arge]ṇṭ[e]ạ ç̣ḷạṛịạ ṗạṛ ụṇụṃ pondo stateri VII et in veste aestumaṭạ tuni-
11 [ca e]ṭ palliolum et pallium Scyrina dr. Aug. CDXXX et heratianon et ẹṗị-
12 [ca]ṛsium et aeramenta Venerem et cadium dr. Aug. XXXXVIII et osyptrum et ạṛç̣a
13 [. . . .]ṣ lecythoe duae et cadium alter statmō mnae VII · quadr · et arclam li-
14 [gnea]ṃ cathedran pyxidam cophinum et servam paternam Heraidan et
15 [pa]ṛaferṇa tunica et palliol(um) tribacum. Item et M. Petronius Servillius
16 [sua]ṃet ipsẹ intulisse se dixi[t] ạd vic[um] Ṗḥ[ilad(elphiam) pa]terna · iug · fr · duas in locō

613. PRIVATE LETTER

6·3×8·5 cm. Second century. PLATE 6.

Fragment of a Latin letter written in an elegant cursive (ll. 2–7 published by C. H. Roberts in *Classical Philology*, XXXIV (1939), 149) resembling P. Mich. VII. 433 and 439 and L. Van Hoesen, *Roman Cursive Writing*, tab. 3, nos. 14 and 16. Its interest lies in the word *sambatha*, where the substitution of *mb* for *bb* supports the interpretation of *ἐν Σαμβαθω* in P. Oxy. VI. 903, 19 as *on the Sabbath* (so first Schubart, *Einführung*, 371), not as a place-name. As *sabbata* is the correct form of the word for the Jewish day while *sabbatum* was introduced by the Christians (cf. E. Schwyzer in *Ztsch. f. vergleichende Sprachforschung*, LXII (1935), 1–16), this letter comes from Jewish rather than from Christian circles.

ḍ[.]i̯[. .] . [.]r.
mandas
se · propter
sambatha
5 fac · itaque
emas · et
tradas
Sui̯mer[o]ti
. . . .

8. Presumably a proper name; what we have taken to be *i* might be the tail of *u*, but although there is no other *u* for comparison, such a *u*—like a y with a long tail—seems unlikely in this hand.

MINOR LATIN DOCUMENTS

614. 15×19 cm. Recto, parts of 10 lines of land (?) register of late second century. Verso, parts of 11 lines of a private letter in Latin. The writing is the cursive of a practised scribe, somewhat similar to P. Grenf. II. 108 (A.D. 167), but larger and more ligatured (*r* almost always ligatured in *er, fra, gra*; *u* ligatured with *i* and *l*), and is probably to be dated to the early third century. In his first two lines the writer groups letters to form words (with a medium stop after *lege*). [1] Q Calvio Lucinniano [salutem] [2] Lege· quid mihi (mihĭ, Pap.) nunṭ[iavit] [3] frater qui ṛes ut praes in pup̣[[4] per gratiam simul [e]q[[.]]ạẹ (? *corrected to* eae) ut et s.[[5] quique sufficientem granuṃ[[6] crearent ẹx̣ hoc autem et i̯[[7] quiḍ S′ (*intention unknown*) saḍ[r]ạ indulgentia.[[8] [..].[.]l̤la.[.]..ạ[.]ipis..[Traces of 3 further lines.

615. Latin Official Letter. 18·2×23·5 cm. Fourth century. The main hand is a large, upright cursive which has points of resemblance with a document from the Abinnaeus archive datable between A.D. 337 and 342 (J. Mallon, R. Marichal, C. Perrat, *L'Écriture Latine*, pl. XXIV) and with an undated letter in the Vienna collection (op. cit., pl. XXVI). [1]]p̣[·]ạpro̩[[2]]m̩ finem̩ Athanasium̩ ạ·[[3]]culo nominari no̩... ita ẹ[.].[[4]]onas debitas ex die se̩[..].[[5]]urum̩ (*2nd h.*) bene
valeas

In l. 3 possibly *no̩lu̩i̯* or *no̩li̯m̩*, l. 4 *se̩[pt]i̯[mo*; in l. 4 *ann]onas* is a likely supplement.

VI. THE ARCHIVE OF THEOPHANES

INTRODUCTION

The papyri comprising this archive were purchased *c.* 1896 by A. S. Hunt on behalf of Lord Crawford together with other texts published in this volume and were acquired by the Library in 1901. As they are both extensive and fragmentary (the number of fragments has been much reduced but there may well be more joins to be made) it would be surprising if no part of the archive had found its way into other collections, but we have failed to identify any published texts (with the exception quoted below) as certainly belonging to it.

The archive consists of public papers, private letters, itineraries, accounts, and memoranda, but no name could be attached to it until it was observed that **623**, the fragmentary Latin letter of introduction, was identical both in script and in phrasing (except for the name of the addressee) with a Latin letter in the Strasbourg collection, first published by H. Breslau in *Archiv*, III. 168 f. As this letter provides a key to the whole archive it may be quoted here in full:

Domino suo Achillio [2]*Vitalis.* [3]*Cum in omnibus bonis benignitas tua sit praedita, tum* [4]*etiam scholasticos et maxime, qui a me cultore tuo honorificentiae* [5]*tuae traduntur, quod honeste respicere velit,* [6]*non dubito, domine praedicabilis. Quapropter Theofanen* [7]*oriundum ex civitate Hermupolitanorum provinciae* [8]*Thebaidos, qui ex suggestione domini mei fratris nostri* [9]*Filippi usque ad officium domini mei Dyscoli vexationem* [10]*itineris quodammodo sine ratione sustinere videtur,* [11]*inimitabili religioni tuae trado, ut eundem praetereuntem* [12]*more honestatis tuae benigne et humane* [13]*respicere digneris. Iuro enim salutem communem* [14]*et infantum nostrorum, quod enim eodem minime* [15]*petente benivolentiae eundem insinuendum putavi.* (2nd hand) *Domine* [16]*dulcissime et vere* [17]*amantissime beatum te* [18]*meique amantem semper* [19]*gaudear.* (Address on verso) [20]*Domino suo Achillio* ἡγεμ(όνι) *Φοινείκης* (2nd hand) [21]*Vitalis.*

This letter provides a link between the public papers (Theophanes as a *scholasticus* in government employment would naturally use for scrap paper the discarded documents of his department), the private letters (e.g. **624**), and the travel accounts, while the information that he was a native of Hermopolis explains both the *origo* of the find and the number of papers about the running of an estate in its neighbourhood.

We learn further that Theophanes was an advocate and legal adviser of some high official and from internal evidence (such as the nature of the public papers and the fact that on his return journey he cuts across the Delta in the direction of Alexandria) we may infer that he was on the staff of the Prefect of Egypt. His standing must have been considerable for him to have been given introductions (which, as their presence in his archive indicates, he failed to use) to provincial governors in Syria; one of them, Achillius, was Governor of Syria, while Dyscolus, the addressee of **623** who resided at Antioch, may have been the *Praefectus Praetorio per Orientem.* Philippus, the superior both of Theophanes and probably of Vitalis, the

writer of the letters, was probably the *augustalis* of Egypt. A further clue both to Theophanes' position and to the date of the archive may be found in the identity of the writer of the letters. This Vitalis may with fair certainty (the name is uncommon) be identified with the *rationalis* Οὐιτάλιος of P. Vindob. Boswinkel 14. As has been argued elsewhere (see C. H. Roberts, 'A Footnote to the Civil War of A.D. 324', in *JEA.* XXXI (1945), 113), the situation which this document envisages is that immediately anterior to the outbreak of the civil war between Constantine and Licinius in A.D. 323. The price level, recorded in the accounts in the archive is such that they must be placed in this decade or the years immediately preceding; we are therefore entitled to identify the Vitalis of our letters with the *rationalis* of the Vienna document. Theophanes will have been an official on his staff, and the purpose of his journey *may* have been connected with the financial preparation for the civil war. A *terminus a quo* is provided by one of the official documents, the verso of which was later used as scrap, which is dated in A.D. 317; so we may place the date of Theophanes' journey together with that of most of the papers in the archive between 317 and 323.

The public papers may properly be regarded as part of the archive and not as the chance results of Theophanes' choice of scrap; in the petitions (addressed to the Emperors but getting no farther than the office of the prefect) no less than in the taxation return there is a financial interest which would suit the hypothesis that Theophanes was employed in the finance department and was converting departmental waste paper to his private uses.[1]

If the private letters are disappointing it is their condition rather than their content that is responsible; but even in their present state the literary essay in the form of a letter sent to Theophanes by his sons (**624**) is a document without parallel among the papyri and evidence of the family's cultural background. This is, as we should expect, thoroughly pagan and Hellenic, as witness the classical names such as Menelaus (such names enjoyed a revival in this century); we may reflect that in the same decade in which Theophanes worked out his itinerary for Palestine, Eusebius was composing his *Chronographia* on the sacred geography of that country.

The itineraries which Theophanes worked out for himself in stages corresponding to the official *mansiones* and *mutationes* and whose gaps can sometimes be made good by the accounts since he notes the places where he spent the night, are perhaps the most interesting part of the archive. He set out, probably from Antinoopolis, and travelled to Babylon by river, reaching it probably about Phamenoth 23 (March 19). He then went to Alexandria, returning inland again as far as Nikiu, at which point his journey to Syria really begins. The first stage recorded on his itinerary is from Nikiu to Athribis, where he arrives on Pharmouthi 11 (April 6). He then proceeds in an east-north-easterly direction by a route not recorded in the ancient geographers[2] until he joins the main road from Babylon to Pelusium at Heracleopolis Parva. From this point onwards he is on the 'great road' of the Antonine itinerary, linking Europe, Asia, and Africa. After he leaves Babylon there is no indication of his means of travel, presumably because he was travelling by government post. He covers the distance

[1] One of the petitions, **621**, carries what may be traces of a *subscriptio*; we might infer that Theophanes referred them to a higher authority in Antioch. We may note that it is only for the accounts of the *homeward* journey that he makes use of them.

[2] The same route was taken by Titus in A.D. 69 from Alexandria to Pelusium (Ios. *B.I.* IV. 659 sq.).

from Pelusium to Gaza in $5\frac{1}{2}$ days, a journey for which 7 days were normally allowed (see K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, p. 814); Titus' legions, rushed to Palestine in A.D. 66 to suppress the Jewish revolt, had with full equipment covered the same ground in 5 days, while Alexander's troops had taken 7 days for the reverse journey. He keeps to the coast as far as Askalon and then takes the inland road to Lydda, rejoining the coast route at Caesarea; he then goes straight up through Tyre, Sarepta, Sidon, Beyrout, Biblus to Tripolis and thence to Laodicea and Antioch, which he reaches on Pachon 7 (May 2). He spends over two months in Antioch and starts back about Epeiph 26 (July 20). He follows substantially the same route,[1] travelling in more leisurely fashion; by Mesore 12 (August 5) he is back in Pelusium and on the 16th in Heliopolis. As the express posts averaged 5 miles an hour including stops (see Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte*, II, p. 280 (Eng. trans.)), Theophanes' average of 32 miles a day is not excessive; his pace naturally increases once he is through the desert. As his journey from Heracleopolis Parva to Antioch can be followed in the Peutinger Table (P), the Antonine Itinerary (A), and—for the stretch from Caesarea to Antioch—in the Jerominan map (J), it may be of interest to compare Theophanes' estimate of the distances with theirs. In the following table the first column gives the stages, the second the points of departure and arrival, the third the distance in Roman miles, all as recorded in the papyri; column 4 then gives the mileage according to P, 5 that according to A, 6 that according to J; in the list the names are given in the standard form, the deviations from which in the papyri are pointed out in the notes. It will be seen that his longest day's journey was his last, on which he covered 64 miles.

The travel accounts speak for themselves, but a few points of interest may be noticed here. Theophanes' average expenditure (and he did not often entertain) is between 2,000 and 3,000 drachmae a day; on his slaves, whose number is uncertain, 900 dr. a day is spent. It is interesting to see how *cibarius* (used in its ordinary sense *cibaria* = victuals, rations) is employed in an extended sense to express quality, or its absence; thus it is used as an adjective qualifying all kinds of supplies and meaning 'cheap', 'ordinary', 'utility'. When the party gets to Syria, the diet naturally becomes more varied; figs, apricots, damsons, mulberries, clingstone peaches all appear on the menu. After food and wine his heaviest expenditure is on baths, soap, and then on papyrus. Among the minor items may be mentioned his purchase of a wine jar in the shape of Silenus and of snow, presumably to cool his wine, in Biblus. Exactly how large his party was we do not know; there were two other *officiales*, Theon and Hermodorus; Eulogius, perhaps a member of another mission who supplies them with funds in Askalon; Silvanus, Theophanes' steward, and Horus, son of Bellus, who buys the papyrus and may be the clerk who actually wrote these accounts. Accounts are kept day by day, and the daily totals are added up not only at the end of each month, but also at the end of each five-day period. We thus have evidence of what appears to be a five-day week; an astrological week of this length is known from P. Oxy. 465 (a second-century text which is markedly Egyptian in character), but of whose use for ordinary purposes there would seem to be no evidence since Babylonian times (see Boll in *RE.* VII. 2549 f.; Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens*, I. 198, 2; Langdon, *Babylonian Menologies*, 98, 2; for these references we are indebted to Dr. S. Weinstock). The domestic accounts from Hermopolis naturally contain less that

[1] See **638.**

is out of the way; but they provide a picture of how an estate of moderate size was run. Entertainments on the occasion of a visit from the strategus included performances by mimers and acrobats. Of more serious interest are the records of the price Theophanes paid

1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Niciu to Athribis	—	—	—	—
2	Athribis to Leontopolis	20	—	—	—
3	Leontopolis to Thmouis	24	—	—	—
4	Thmouis to Tanis	24	—	22	—
5	Tanis to Heracleopolis Parva	21	—	22	—
6	Heracleopolis to Pelusium	24	[22]	22	—
7	Pelusium to Geras	10	8	—	—
	Geras to Pentaschoenum[1]	(12)	—	—	—
8	Pentaschoenum to Casium[2]	16	—	20	—
9	Casium to Ostracine	26	—	26	—
10	Ostracine to Rhinocolura	24	23	24	—
11	Rhinocolura to Boutaphium	(15)	—	—	—
	Boutaphium to Raphia[3]	(23)	—	—	—
12	Raphia to Gaza	24	22	22	—
	Gaza to Ascalon	15	15	16	—
13	Ascalon to Jamnia	20	22	20	—
	Jamnia to Lydda	12	12	12	—
14	Lydda to Antipatris	11	12	—	10
	Antipatris to Bettara[4]	17	16	—	10
	Bettara to Caesarea	16	—	18	16
15	Caesarea to Ptolemais	44	28	44	[38–9]
16	Ptolemais to Tyre	45	32	32	32
17	Tyre to Sarepta	16	—	—	[12]
	Sarepta to Sidon[5]	20	—	—	[13]
18	Sidon to Beyrout	34	29	30	28
19	Beyrout to Biblus	24	—	24	12
20	Biblus to Tripolis	36	32	32	32
21	Tripolis to Arcae (Orthosia)	16	12	18	16
22	Arcae to Antaradus	30	30	32	32
23	Antaradus to Balanea	24	24	24	26
24	Balanea to Gabala	14	16	24	13
	Gabala to Laodicea	20	11	18	14
25	Laodicea to Hydata	50	—	48	—
	Hydata to Daphnae	10	—	11	11
	Daphnae to Antioch	4	—	5	5

for gold *aurei* during the years after his return from Syria; he was buying them at 7,000 *denarii* and was still buying them when they stood at 30,000. Among the memoranda attention may be called to the list of clothes and household objects, where many of the words, mostly loan-words from Latin, are new.

[1] Pentaschoenum to Pelusium 20 (A).
[2] The distance from Pelusium to Casium is given as 40 miles by A, 31 by P, that from Geras to Casium as 23 by P.
[3] P gives the distance from Rhinocolura to Raphia as 34, A as 22.
[4] A gives the distance from Bettara to Lydda as 28.
[5] The distance from Tyre to Sidon is given both by P and A as 24 miles.

616. TAXATION LIST OF THE PROVINCE OF AEGYPTUS IOVIA

Frag. (*a*) 33·5×23 cm. *c.* A.D. 312.

Two fragments from a roll listing contributions due or received from the nomes (strictly speaking, cities and regions, but even in official documents the old usage died hard) of the western and central Delta. Neither fragment yields a complete list of nomes in the province nor the nature of the taxes in respect of which payment was claimed—if indeed the roll contained records of payments for different taxes and not the payments of the same tax for different years—but apart from the interest attaching to the list of nomes as such, **616** may be held to confirm Mommsen's view, recently revived by Prof. A. H. M. Jones (*The Cities of the Eastern Roman Empire*, p. 480, n. 51), as against Wilcken and Gelzer that at this date Aegyptus Iovia consisted of the western and central Delta and that consequently Aegyptus Herculia included the eastern Delta as well as the Heptanomia.

In column ii of fragment (*a*) payments are expressed in bullion as well as in myriads of denarii. The text is too broken for it to be certain whether these are two separate entries or whether the value of the bullion is expressed in denarii. In the first case, the collection of bullion is probably that referred to in P. Oxy. 2106 in which the city of Oxyrhynchus is assessed at 36 lb. of gold, to be sent to Alexandria for forwarding to Nicomedia in Bithynia by September 1st of an unspecified year. The relatively high contribution demanded from Oxyrhynchus would correspond to that city's known importance in this period. In the second case, as the price of gold on the basis of the one complete line in this column (l. 10) would be slightly lower than the rate of 100,000 denarii to a pound of gold quoted in P. Oxy. 2106, the latter will have to be dated a year or so after 312.

The geographical information in this text was made available to Prof. Jones for his *Cities of the Eastern Roman Empire*, in which (Appendix IV) the cities as known from Hierocles, Georgius, and other later sources are conveniently tabulated. It is worth noticing that the order in which they appear in **616** does not correspond to that of any of the later sources, nor does it follow any obvious geographical principle.

The verso of both fragments as well as the recto of fragment (*b*) has been used for jotting down Theophanes' travel expenses. Of the text on the recto (which was clearly a draft) only two of the entries, for the 19th and 20th of an unspecified month, are complete: [3] *τιμῆ(ς) σικ[ύων]* (δρ.) *σ*, [4] *τιμ(ῆς) περσι[κῶ]ν* (δρ.) *σ*. On the recto of (*a*) at the bottom of col. ii is *(γίν.) (τάλ.) ια* (δρ.) *έ* [.].; both the amount and the hand show that this figure refers to the travel accounts.

Frag. (*a*)

Col. i.

. . . .
] ψ
] ελδ
] δ L
] η διμο[ιρ( )]
5]. νι κο . [

] ς κδ .
] εδ
[ ]
(δην.)] (μυρ.) [ ] ,Α [ ]
] (δην.) (μυρ.) τργ ,Βοαʟ [ ]
] (δην.) (μυρ.) μ ,Γ . [ ]
] (δην.) (μυρ.) ρκε ,Ε̣ [ ]
] (δην.) (μυρ.) . κ ,Ζ [ ]
] (δην.) (μυρ.) . ,Δυ̣[ ]
] (δην.) (μυρ.) λβ Τ̣ [ ]
] (δην.) (μυρ.) ξδ ,Ζτϙ

Col. ii

. . . . . .
. [
Φθ̣έμ̣[ουθ] γρ(άμ.) [ ] (δην.) (μυρ.) τ̣ [
[Ὀ]νου[φίτο]ῦ λ̣ί̣τ̣ρ(αι) ε̣ [οὐγκ(ίαι)] β̣ γ̣[ρ(άμ.)] (δην.) (μυρ.) [ ] ,ζ
Ξοίτοῦ [λίτρ(αι)] ιξ [γρ(άμ.)] κβγ̄. (δην.) [(μυρ.)] ,Ζχξζ
Σεβ(εννύτου) ἄνω [λί]τρ(αι) γ οὐ[γ]κ(ίαι) χ γ[ρ(άμ.)] (δην.) [μυρ.]] ,Ηχλξ διμοιρ ( )
Φραγό̣ν̣[ε]ως λίτρ(αι) ε οὐγ[κ(ίαι) γρ(άμ.)] · Ⱡ μ̄[η̄] (δην.) [(μυρ.)] ,ϛτνθ
Παχ[νεμου]νέως λίτρ(αι) [γρ(άμ.)] . κδ̄ [(δην.) (μυρ.)] ,Ζκη ʟ
Δ̣[ιοσπολ]ίτο̣[υ λ]ίτρ(αι) η οὐ[γκ(ίαι) γρ(άμ.)] . . (δην.) [(μυρ.)] ρη·
Ἑλ[εαρ]χ̣ίας [λί]τρ(αι) ζ [οὐγκ(ίαι)] γρ(άμ.) [(δην.)] (μυρ.) · ,Α̣τ̣ξϛ ʟ
Παραλίου λίτρ(αι) κε̣ [οὐγ]κ(ίαι) ϛ γρ(άμ.) . δμη̄ (δην.) (μυρ.) σκε ,Αγ ʟ
[ὁμοί]ως
Ἰνδικτίονος τοῦ ἐνεστ[ῶτος] κανόνος ὑπ[ατεί]ας τῶν δεσποτῶν
ἡμ[ῶν] Κωνστα[ντίνου καὶ] Λικιννίο[υ] Σ̣[εβασ]τ̣[ῶν] α (ἔτους) (δην.) (μυρ) ,Αψλϛ [- -] [
[οὔ]τ̣ως
Ἀ̣[λ]ε̣ξανδρέω[ν Χώρας] (δην.) [(μυρ.)] ,Δυξη ʟ δ″
[Μ]ε̣νελαίτου (δην.) [(μυρ.)] · ρξα ʟ
Μετηλείτου (δην.) (μυρ.) ρμ[.] ,Θων[.] ʟ.
Φθένοτυ (δην.) (μυρ.) πε ,Ζφπε.

Frag. (*b*)

[. . . .] . (δην.) (μυρ.) [ ] ,Ατ
[Κα]β̣οσίτο̣[υ] (δην.) (μυρ.) [ ] ,Ξ .
Ναυκρά[τιδος] (δην.) (μυρ.) β . [
[Ἀ]νδ̣ροπ[ο]λ̣ίτου (δην.) (μυρ.) ιε
Προσω[πί]του (δην.) (μυρ.) ρλϛ [. . .] β
Κλεοπ[ατρ]ίδος (δην.) (μυρ.) β .
Φθέμ[ο]υθ (δην.) (μυρ.) πη .
Ὀ̣ν̣[ουφί]του (δην.) (μυρ.) λη [ ]κλϛ
Ξο[ίτο]υ̣ (δην.) (μυρ.) ρλ̣ . . πη
Σε̣β̣ε̣ννύτου ἄνω (δην.) (μυρ.) ϙ [.] ,Βρ [ ]

Φρ[αγ]όνεως (δην.) (μυρ.) ϙε ,Ατκε δ΄
Π[αχ]ν̣εμουνέως (δην.) (μυρ.) λζ ,Ετκ .
Δ[ιοσπο]λείτου [(δην.) (μυρ.)] ρ [ ] ,Ηηψ
[Ἑλεαρ]χ̣ίας [(δην.) (μυρ.)] ,Ητ[.] α L
[Παρα]λίου [(δην.) (μυρ.)] ,Η[.] . διμοιρ ( )
[. . . .] ε̣ . [. . . . .]ναπ̣[. . . . .] . ερτ( )
. . . . . .

Fr. (*a*) ii. 4. The figures 1,000–9,000 are indicated by a stroke to the left of the numeral, a system which came into use in the fourth century, and of which **616** provides the earliest example (see H. J. M. Milne–T. C. Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus*, p. 62 sq.).

6. For the variant forms of this name see H. Gauthier, *Les Nomes d'Égypte*.

10. Paralus was the name given to the coastal strip between the Bolbitic and Sebennytic mouths of the Nile. Jones (op. cit., p. 347) remarks that it contained no considerable town and was probably sparsely populated; but the high rate of assessment scarcely supports this view. This is the earliest reference both to it and to the Helearchia, the fen land lying to the south of it.

Fr. (*b*) 6. This is the earliest reference to Cleopatris, although, as its name shows, it must have been of Ptolemaic foundation; to judge by the rate of assessment it must have been a place of some importance.

For the question whether the 2,251,003 ½ *denarii* are to be regarded as the equivalent of 25 lb. 5 oz. and *x* grammes of gold, see introduction.

13. The only year in which a consulate of Constantine and Licinius coincides with the first year of an indiction cycle is 312.

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617. PETITION TO THE EMPERORS

38·5×25·6 cm. ? A.D. 317.

Of this papyrus, broken down the middle along the line of the *kollema* (on which, however, the scribe did not write) the upper, lower, and left-hand margins are intact; to the right something more than a third of the text is missing. It is written in a fine, official hand showing, as other hands of the period do, the marked influence of the chancery hand. On the verso is part of the travel account.

Whether this petition ever reached the imperial chancery may be doubted unless (which seems very unlikely) it was drawn up and signed in duplicate, the prefect of Egypt[1] keeping one copy and forwarding the second to the Emperor. Our document, which is an original and not a copy, bears no trace of an imperial subscription. The burden of the petition is clear enough: the petitioner claims that on her land, which had been assessed at 3/4 (or 7/8) of an artaba per *iugum* (see A. E. R. Boak, *Études de Papyrologie*, II, p. 3 and W. Ensslin in *CAH.* XI, pp. 400–1), she had been taxed at the rate of first two and then three artabas the *iugum*. The document is dated in the period of the joint reign of Constantine and Licinius when their three children filled the office of Caesar (A.D. 317–24); the mistake in the nomenclature of two out of the three children (see note to l. 3) makes it all but certain that **617** belongs to the first year of this period.

[1] That this petition came from the office of the *Praefectus Aegypti* rather than from that of the *Praeses Herculiae* is indicated by its companion piece, **618**, a petition from the *Archiprophetes* of Alexandria.

Other fourth-century petitions to the Emperor with which **617** may be compared in point of language are W. *Chr.* 6 and P. Lips. 34 and 35, and in this volume **618–20.**

[. .] . . [. . . .]

τοῖς γῆς καὶ θαλάττης καὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπ[ω]ν [γέ]νους δεσπόται[ς Αὐτ]οκράτορσι Καίσαρ[σι Φλ]αυίῳ Ο[ὐαλερίῳ Κωνσταντίνῳ καὶ Οὐαλερίῳ Λικιννιανῷ Λικιννίῳ]

εὐτυχέσι ἀνικήτοις σεβαστοῖς καὶ Φλαυίῳ Οὐ[αλερίῳ] Κ̣ρίσπῳ καὶ Οὐαλ[ερίῳ] Κωνσταντίνῳ Λικ[ιννί]ῳ καὶ Φ[λαυίῳ Κλαυδίῳ Κωνσταντίνῳ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Καίσαρσι]

δέησις καὶ ἱκεσία

Παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Ἰσιδώρας Παλῆτος ἀπὸ κώμη[ς . . . . . .] . εχώνσιος Λ̣ε̣[οντο]πολίτου νομοῦ· τῆ̣[ς ὑμετέρας̣ [*c.* 25 letters θειότατοι Αὐτοκράτορες]

καὶ ἐπιφανέστατοι Καίσαρες εὐεργετεῖν πᾶσαν̣ [. . . .]τ̣ην οἰκουμένη[ν] πρὸς τὸ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐν τῷ κόσμ̣[ῳ τούτῳ *c.* 40 letters]

ἐν τῷ αἰωνίῳ ὑμῶν κράτει, τὸ δὲ κατ᾽ ἐμὲ οὕτ̣[ω]ς ἔχ[ει]ν· πρὸ πολλοῦ ὁ ἡμέτερος πατὴρ ὠνήσατο κα . [*c.* 42 letters τοὺς]

μὲν ἄλλους φόρους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐτελοῦμεν ὡς τῆς μι[ᾶ]ς ἑκάστης ἀρούρης σίτου ἀρτάβης ἥμισυ τρίτον ο̣[*c.* 37 letters ? ἀναγκαζό-]

μεθα παρα̣[σ]χεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀρουρ̣[ῶν ἀρτάβ]α̣ς δύο τῆς μιᾶ[ς ἀ]ρούρης οὐκ ἡσύχα[σ]αν δὲ επ̣[*c.* 42 letters ? ἑκάσ-]

της ἀρούρ[ης] ἀρτάβας τρεῖς ὡς ἐκ τῆς βίᾳ[ς . . . . . βι]ό̣πρατος ἐγεν̣ό̣[μ]ην ἀνάγκην δὲ ἔχο̣[υσ]α βοηθε̣[ίας τυχεῖν *c.* 36 letters]

καὶ καταφ[υγ]ὴν ἐποίησα διὰ ταύτης μ̣[ου τῆς ἀξι]ώ[σ]εως ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ὑμῶν τῶν εὐερ[γετῶ]ν ἡμῶ[ν βήματα *c.* 38 letters

εἰς τὰς ε[ὐσε]βεῖς εἰσ[φ]ορὰς καὶ εἰς τὰ τελ̣[έσματα θαλ]ά̣σσια ὑπὲρ τ̣ῆ̣[ς ἐμ̣ῆ̣]ς κτήσεως πρ[οτρ]έ̣πεσθα[ι *c.* 43 letters]

ἀκολουθεῖ̣ [τ]ο̣ῦ̣ προτ[έρ]ου κανόνος καὶ μητὲ [κατακρ]ατεῖσθαί με τὴν πρε̣[σβ]ῦ̣τιν καὶ ἀθλί̣α̣ν ὑπὲ̣[ρ] ὧν αὐτῶ[ν *c.* 40 letters ? Παλῆ]

τ̣ος ὅπερ κ̣[αὶ σ]υνεπ̣[ιτ]ελῶ. διευτυχεῖτε θε̣[ιότατ]ο̣ι Α̣ὐ̣τ̣ο̣κ̣[ρά]τ̣ο̣ρ̣ε̣ς καὶ ἐπ]ιφανέσ[τατοι Καίσαρες [*c.* 33 letters]

κόσμον. [(*2nd hand*) Αὐρη]λίας Ἰσιδώρας διεπεμψάμην̣ [. . . . . (*3rd hand*) Σ]α̣ραπίωνος υἱὸς ἔγρ[α]ψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς γράνμ̣[α]τα μὴ ε̣[ἰδυίης.]

3. *θαλατ'της.* *Φλ]*ανϊω and in l. 3 4. *ϊκεσια* 5. *ϊσιδωρας* 7. *ϋμῶν*, and in l. 11 15. l. *Αὐρη]λία, Ἰσιδώρα, γράμματα*

1. To the left of the faint traces of two letters there is a gap, to the right the surface is abraded; the letters may be Latin, as in l. 1 of W. *Chr.* 6 (*exemp[l]um prec[u]m*).

3. The three Caesars were Flavius *Iulius* Crispus, Flavius Claudius Constantinus, and Valerius *Licinianus* Licinius. For Crispus see *RE.* s.v. 'Crispus'; his name appears in this form in two inscriptions of A.D. 317. As all three were children, the youngest only a few weeks old, at their nomination, the errors are venial.

4. These three words stand alone in the centre of the line.

6. It is hard to see what word could have stood after *πᾶσαν*; possibly the writer left a longer blank space than usual at the *Kollema*. *ἐν τῷ κ.*: perhaps the writer was a Christian (cf. e.g. 1 John iv. 17).

10. LSJ., following Preisigke, translate *βιόπρατος* as *ne'er-do-weel* and refer to P. Oxy. 1477, 14. Mr. T. C. Skeat informs us that the true reading there is *βιόπραγος*, *successful, prosperous*, and so the evidence for *βιόπρατος* rests on this passage where there is nothing to choose between *βιόπρατος* and *βιαιόπρατος* (cf.

βιοθάνατος–βιαιοθάνατος). The meaning cannot be that given by LSJ, but may be *subjected to compulsory sale of one's property*.

12. *θαλ]άσσια*: the reference is to the payment of taxes to cover the cost of the transportation beyond Egypt to which the Egyptian farmer of the fourth century was liable (see S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Roman Egypt*, p. 44; A. Segrè in *Byzantion*, XVI (1942–3), p. 339). The earliest evidence is that of P. Oxy. 2113 (not 2116, as Segrè, loc. cit.) of the year 316, in which is mentioned an order of the praeses of Herculia for payment of *ναῦλον* for transport from Alexandria to Byzantium and Heraclea.

FRAGMENTARY PETITIONS

618. *c.* A.D. 317. Five fragments of a petition to the Emperors written in a bold slanting hand. The relative position of the first three fragments is determined by the preamble; that of the fourth (which begins in l. 5) may be regarded as certain, while that of the fifth (also beginning in l. 5) is dependent on the restoration *με]γάλη[ς* and is not more than possible. The petitioner is the *ἀρχιπροφήτης* of Alexandria for whom see **110**, 1 note; the office was probably hereditary (see Uxkull-Gyllenband in BGU. V. 2, pp. 83–4) and the occasion of **618** is most probably a disputed inheritance. Lines 5 and 6 are both inset; l. 6 was probably left blank after *πόλε[ων*. Verso blank.

[1] *τοῖ[ς γῆς καὶ θαλάττης καὶ πα]ντὸς [ἀνθρώπων γένους δ]εσπότ[α]ι[ς Αὐτοκράτορσι Καίσαρσι Φλαυίῳ Οὐαλερίῳ Κωνσταντίνῳ καὶ]* [2] *Οὐαλε[ρίῳ Λικιννιανῷ Λικιννίῳ ε]ὐτυχέσι [ἀνικήτοις σεβαστοῖς καὶ] Φλαυίῳ ['Ιουλίῳ Κρίσπῳ καὶ Οὐαλερίῳ Λικιννιανῷ Λικιννίῳ καὶ]* [3] *Φλαυίῳ [Κλαυδίῳ Κωνσταν]τίνῳ τοῖ[ς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Καίσα]ρσι* [4] *δέησις [καὶ ἱκεσία]* [5] *[παρὰ .....]ου ἀρχιπρο[φήτου τῆς λαμπροτά]της Ἀλεξά[νδρέων] πόλεως τῆ[ς με]γάλη[ς* c. 27 letters] [6] [?10 ll. *ἄλλ]ων πόλε[ων*] [7] *δεδ[* c. 14 ll. *]ω ἐπιρρω.[* c. 17 ll. *] ἐν θεοῖς τ[.....]. ἐκ διαδ[οχ..]. τε τῶν λ[* c. 22 ll.] [8] *τῶν [* c. 14 ll.] *τάξιν ταν[τ* c. 16 ll. *]ωθεν δε.[.....].ου προφ[ητ...] ἐπεισάγεσ[θαι* c. 18 ll.] [9] *ἀπὸ [c.* 15 ll.*].ητω πα[* c. 17 ll.] *μετ' ἄλλα [.....]ω προφη[τ....] δ' ὑπαρχ[* c. 21 ll.] [10] *ἐλπίδ[* c. 15 ll.*]νος ἐν ολ[* c. 15 ll. *κ]αὶ ἀπὸ τ[.....].αστηρ[.....]ησθαι μ[* c. 21 ll.] [11] *αὐτὴ[* c. 17 ll.] *ἀρρε[ν* c. 18 ll.*]ς εσο[.....]χ[.]μοι ἐλ[.....]η προ[φητεία? c.* 15 ll.] [12] *προφη[τ* c. 15 ll.] *καὶ δ[* c. 19 ll.] *τῆς συ[.....]ας δὲ τ[.....].αση[* c. 21 ll.] [13] *[?ἀ]σχολ[* c. 17 ll.*]υχη[* c. 20 ll.*].εις [.....]ει μοι [.....] και ο[* c. 21 ll.] [14] *[..]ερ[* c. 16 ll. *πρ]οφ[ητ* c. 19 ll.] *κ.[.....]ετατε.[.....] ἐμ[ο]ὶ* [15] *[.]σο.[* c. 19 ll.*]ασ[* c. 20 ll.*]..τ[.....]φ[.....]χρ[* c. 24 ll.] (Traces of one more line). Line 9. *δ' ὑπαρχ*.

619. ? A.D. 313. 8·3×11·8 cm. Fragment from the lower part of a petition to the Emperor (? Constantine). Along the fibres: verso blank. Lines 5–8 [5] *]καὶ πεδοτροφουντ[* (l. *παιδοτροφουντ[*) [6] *].σοι κατ' ἀγαθότητα* [7] *? ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν] ἡμῶν Μαξιμίνου καὶ Κ[ωνσταντίνου. 2nd hand* [8] *γρ]άμματα ἅτινά σε Αὐτό[κρατορ* [9] *].ε βεβαιώσω ἀπ.[* (Traces of one more line.) Line 8: less likely, *σεαυτο[*

620. Early fourth century. 13·8×5 cm. Fragment from lower part of a petition to the Emperor. Along the fibres: verso blank. Lines 6 sqq. [6] *]τῇ βουλῇ σ[* [7] *]ιν.[* [8] *]οντος γραμ[* [9] *]πέμψαι μοι[* [10] *]παντὸς τ[* [11] *] ἀποστέλλω [* [12] *γρά]μματα σημ[* [13] *]ς τ[ά]ξεως παρα[* [14] *] ἔρρωσθαί σε εὔχ[ομαι* [15] *].ἡ θειότης[*. At bottom, in second hand *Παχὼν κς*.

621. 47×22 cm. Of this petition, probably, like those immediately preceding it, addressed to the Emperors, part of the left and lower margins survive; the centre of the papyrus, however, as well as the right-hand portion, has largely disappeared so that in spite of its imposing dimensions only on what is now the right-hand edge do any consecutive words survive. Further, even where the papyrus survives the surface is often abraded. How much is missing on the right cannot be determined, but there were well over a hundred letters to the line. The subject of the petition was a family quarrel over an inheritance. In the bottom left-hand corner are traces of four letters, all that remain of a Latin *subscriptio*; *xl* (perhaps the petitioner's file number) can be read with two incomplete letters above. On the verso is **636**. In addition to the names which occur below a certain Philippius is mentioned in l. 5. [8] *εἰς ὄνομα [c.* 14 ll.*] ομενο.[c.* 21 ll.*]εατρ[.]μ [c.* 22 ll. *κα]ταβαλὼν [..ἀπ]οδομεν[.....]χημα καὶ ε[* [9] *περὶ ὧν ει[c.* 13 ll.*]ν ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν ἀπ[c.* 16 ll.*]κομί[σα]το περ.[c.* 21 ll.*].πρεα τὸ χρεων ὡς ἀποδεδω[κό]τος τοῦ πατρὸς μο[υ* [10] *ουσων εἶχεν [c.* 12 ll.] *τινῶν τόπω[ν c.* 9 ll.*]ησσι [.].πατὴρ [c.* 20 ll.] *ηπερηλιακ.[c.* 10 ll.] *Παυσεῖρις πρὸς γ..[* [11] *τροφὴν ἑτερ[..α[...]. ἡ[μ]ῶν [εἶ]χον πα[c.* 17 ll.*]μω[..] χρόνου [c.* 20 ll.] *πονηρότατον πρᾶγμα [ἐν]νοηθεῖσα ἡ Θαῆσις η[* [12] *σα[σ]θαι τὰ οἰκ[ό]πεδα [...]οι (ϊ* P.*).[.]ν. καὶ ἀναφ[c.*

11 ll.]ς ὥσ̣[τ]ε πρ̣[..]να υπ (ϋ P.) [c. 21 ll.] μ̣ετα.[.].[...]τοσου ι̣[...ἀ]νδρὸς Π[αυ]σείριος φα.[13 [...]αστου [c. 16 ll.]αι ταῦτ[α c. 14 ll.] ἐπ[εὶ ὁ] πραιπόσιτ[ος].ων ἡμῶν ἀκ[.].[.....] παρεφύλαξεν ἡμῖν τ.[14 [τῶ]ν οἰκοπ̣έ̣δων [c. 11 ll.] τασενα [c. 11 ll.] ει[..].α[...].καθηλ̣ [c. 19 ll.] ἐπι[...]ν̣ [π]ό̣λεως [...]ιτω τῷ ὑμετέρων ἐν.[15 τ[..]εῖσθαι [c. 13 ll.]ον χρ.[c. 12 ll.]κ.[...]θ̣[....] σεψεσι[c. 20 ll.].ι̣[....]σ.[.....] ἐπὶ Αἰνείου τ̣υ̣χε̣ῖ̣ν α[16 [κ[α]ταβ[ολὴ c. 13 ll.]α̣ιαν̣ [c. 18 ll.].ομ[..]ην [c. 11 ll. ὁ πραιπό]σιτο̣ς̣ το̣ῦ πά̣[γου [c. 8 ll.] μεθα καὶ παρακ̣[.].μ[17 [.]ηναι α[....].ι.η[....].[.]ναγ.[c. 8 ll.]τ̣ι̣.[.....]τε.[.].τω [c. 22 ll.] ἐμὸν τ...[c. 7 ll.]βα[.].εν ἡμῶν τὰ δ[ί]κ̣αια[

622. Early fourth century. Three small fragments of petitions, two belonging to the same document. All written on the recto: the verso is blank in every case.

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623. LATIN LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

17·2×15·3 cm. Between A.D. 317 and 324.

This fragment of a Latin letter is not only written in the same hand as P. Lat. Strasb. I (ed. with plate by H. Bresslau in *Archiv*, III, pp. 168–72; for the date cf. U. Wilcken in *Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, p. 120, note 1; translation in W. Schubart, *Ein Jahrtausend am Nil*², p. 97), but is identical in wording, except for the name of the addressee. For the importance of these two texts in determining the date and ownership of this archive see introduction, p. 104.

Verso blank

[Domino suo] Delfiniọ
Vitalis

[Cum in omni]bus bonis benignitas tua sit praedita
[tum etiam s]c̣ḥ[o]ḷạṣ[tico]s et maxim[e q]ui a me cul[to]re tuo
5 [honorificentiae tuae tr]aduntur [quod] hones[te r]espicere
[velit non dubito d]omine p[raedi]cabilis [q]ụaproptẹr
[Theofanem oriundum] ex civi[tat]ẹ Hermọ[po]litanorụ[m]
[provinciae Thebaido]ṣ qui [ex sugg]estio[ne do]mini m[ei]
[fratris nostri Filippi] ụsqu[e ad of]ficiuṃ domi]ni me[i]
10 [Dyscoli vexationem itine]ṛ[is sine rat]ị[o]ṇe q̣[uodammo]do sust[inere]
. . . . . .

1. Delphinius was presumably an high Syrian official, but is not otherwise known.

10. The letters at the end of this line are cramped and extend well into the margin. The Strasbourg papyrus reads . . . *vexationem itineris quodammodo sine ratione sustinere videtur*. . . . Probably the writer of **623** omitted both *quodammodo* and *sustinere* and added them later in the margin.

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624. LETTER FROM HEPHAISTION AND HORIGENES TO THEOPHANES

20·2×24·2 cm.

Hephaistion and Horigenes write to thank their father for his kindness in taking them with him on his travels as far as Alexandria in a letter designed principally to demonstrate in expression and sentiment the degree of culture to which they have attained thanks to his

beneficence. We may guess that a secondary object was to prove that the tutor whose guiding hand can be discerned throughout was earning his salary. As a combination of a genuine private letter and an essay on filial piety it is unique among the papyri. In no other letter[1] do we find even occasional breathings, accents, and punctuation[2] inserted as though the text was that of a classic poet, while the employment of the iota adscript is significant of the writers' determined archaism. The letter is written in a firm and clear hand, probably by a professional. We have printed it as it stands (apart from word-division), giving only such accents, etc., as appear in the original.

Τωι κυριωι ημων και δεσποτηι πατ[ρι] Θεοφανει Ηφαι
στ[ιων] τε και Ωρ[ιγε]νης σφ[ο]δρα [χαιρει]ν'
$\bar{\iota}^{c}$Ουκ αμοιβῆς τινος εν καιρωι π[. . . . . α]ξιούμεν [κυρι]ε
[π]ατερ τους τη[ς ο]δου πονου[ς . . . .] . σ . [ε]πενεγ[και . .] .
ὡς προειλομεθα αλλα χαριν [? επισταμ]ε̣θ[α] τε και [? ετι προ]
τε[ρο]ν ετελουμε[ν] τοιαυτη[ς τιμης κατα]ξιωθεν[τες . .]
αφ [ης] και το ακρ[ιβ]ως ειδεν[αι . . . . . πρα]γματα [. . . . .]
ἡν [η]μιν παρουσι [και] θεωρου[σι]ν [και τ]ο μη της βουλη[σ]ε̣
ως ως σφοδρα διαμαρτειν [.]ν[. . . .] δε ημεις εν τη πολει
καταλιμφθεντες διεμεινο[μ]ε̣ν [φιλο]πευστοῦντες τα περι
τ[ης σ]ης ολοκλη[ριας] τε και [. .] . [. . . . α]φ ἡς και ημας πολλων
[. . . . . .]α̣γ[. . . . . .] . . [. . . . . .]μει αξιον [. . . .] ·
π̣ρ[αγ]ματων τ̣[.]λ̣[.] . ταμ[. . . . . .] . δ̣ι̣οικητ[η]ς̣ [. . . .]ε̣
τα σε πραγμα· τουτο γαρ μα̣[λιστα π]ρωτον και παντων
διαφερον ηγουμεθα ειναι ε[ργο]ν· ουδενος γαρ αλλου
κήδεσθαι και φροντιζε[ι]ν τ̣[ης] φυσεως ὁ νομος δ[ι]δασκ̣ει
η πατρος αγαθοῦ· παρ ὁυ κ̣[α]ι τ[ο εν]ευδοκιμειν μ[α]λιστ̣α
εν πολει· και των αλλω[ν] τ̣ω[ν α]λλως φρονουν̣τ̣ων
μικρον φρονειν ευχερεσ[τ]α̣τ[ο]ν συμβαινει τουτο
[ω]ς̣ ακριβως ειδως [π]αντι σθε[νε]ι ο[υ]τω ημας διακειμε
[νους] και ψυχηι [. . .]ανῶ[.] . [.]ε̣ απαλλαξον· ἱ̈ερος
[. . .]ν̣εστατο[.] . [. . . . . .] αλλα κτηνι̣[. . . .] γενομε̣
[ν . . .] . ς· φ[ιλω]ν επισ̣[. . . . . .]ων απαλλαγ[. . . .]ριαν ὑπ[ε]ρ
[. . . . . .]ωιην[. . . . . .]τ̣α· [ο]υδε γαρ . [.]ι̣ αδελφων
. . ο̣β̣[.]ο[. .] ημας [.]ρ[. . . . . .]ωσαντος συν σοι βου
λομενο[ι] πορευεσθ̣[αι . . . . .]ων συνηθεια εμποδων
αν ἵστατο· ου γονεων φ[οβος] ο̣[υδε] ἑστιας ηδονη· ουκ' αλ
[λ]ο ουδ̣[εν] τ[ων] τοιο̣ν̣[των . . . .] φυλαξαιμεθα γαρ ἀν και μα
τω[. .] ε
[λι]σ̣τ̣[α . .]σχ[. .]ε̣τ̣[. . . . .]ι̣ ὑγ[ιαι]νοντων και ζωντων

[1] Partial exceptions may be UPZ. 144 and 145; on Wilcken's interpretation these are extracts (omitting prescripts, names, dates, etc.) from actual letters copied out as stylistic exercises. The texts as we have them were neither dispatched nor intended to be; there is punctuation by points, paragraphus, and spacing, but no accents.

[2] A middle point is employed in P. Ross.-Georg. v. 4 and **606**, 12; cf. also P. Oxy. 1680, 12 (high stop), P. Strassb. 35 (dotted obelus), and PSI. 311, 14 (paragraphus).

30 [. .]νο̣[. . . . . .] . σιπ . [.] . και παντων των
[. .]κ̣τα[. . . .]τ̣όυν[. . . .] ασπαζ[ο]μεθα σε παντες κυριε
π̣ατ[ερ . . .] ε̣ν̣[. . .]ον ζης ει[ς α]παντ̣[α] τον χ[ρο]νον
[. . . . . .]υ̣[. . . . .] δ̣ιανυω[ν τ]ης βο[υ]λησε[ω]ς τα
[. . . . . .] ταυσατ . [. τιμι]ωτατε
35 (2nd hand) . [. . . . . .]λιον τα[. . . . . .] . [. . . . . .]θ̣α

Verso (written along the fibres)

κ̣υ̣ρ̣ [. .] . . . α̣ . . [. . . .] . . ⊽ ⊽ π̣[. . . . .]ε̣θ̣[.]ο[*c.* 24 letters] ω̣

'To our lord and master, our father Theophanes, Hephaistion and Horigenes exceeding many greetings.

'It is not, sir, that we consider the labours of our journey merit any recompense in (? this) season [since] we elected [voluntarily] to incur them, rather do we return thanks for them as indeed we have already done for being thought worthy of such honour which also enabled us to gain exact knowledge .... affairs .... we were enabled to see with our own eyes [so that] we were not greatly disappointed in our wishes. We stayed on after you had left us in the City making eager inquiries after your well-being ..... your affairs. For this we consider to be a duty that comes first and excels all others, since we are taught by nature's law to watch over and care for no one so much as a good father. For it is to him that we owe the exceptionally high reputation that we enjoy in the City, from him that we learn to think little of those that think differently, for nothing is easier than this, for you well know how with all our strength and soul we are so disposed ..... willing to travel with you ..... no custom would stand in our way, no fear of elders, no pleasures of home, nor any other such consideration ..... for we would guard especially against ..... we all greet you, sir, ... for the rest of your life .....'

(Address on verso.)

2. *σφόδρα χαίρειν*: no instances of this are quoted by Exler, *The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter*. The initial *ο* of *οὐκ* is six times the size of the normal letter.

3. There is hardly room for *παροντι* after *καιρωι* even if the unusual order were admitted.

4. The trace at the end of this line would suit *ε*, *σ*, or possibly *θ*; [*κα*]*θ̣*|*ως*, otherwise suitable, is ruled out by the breathing over the *ως*, as well as by the rules of word division.

9. The clause beginning with *αλλα* in l. 5 in all probability ended here.

10. *καταλιμφθεντες*: this form appears to be as unknown to the Koine as to classical Greek.

13. *εξετεσε*(*-αι*) might be suggested here were an orthographical error not improbable in this text. *κ*]*α̣*|*τα σε* is a possible reading.

18. *των αλλως φρονουντων*: in this expression, suggestive of some division of feeling in which Theophanes is involved, we may see an allusion perhaps to the Christians, perhaps to the party of Constantine.

Verso. The address was written along one of the folds where the surface has all but completely disappeared.

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625. LETTER FROM THEOPHANES TO ANUSIUS

20·5 × 20·5 cm.

There is nothing to show at which point in his travels Theophanes wrote this letter; its presence among his papers would be explained if the addressee (whose sole appearance in the archive this is) were a member of his household (see also note to l. 1). The letter was

probably meant to end with l. 7; the subsequent lines are much shorter and may have been added as a postscript. The hand is unofficial, but clear and elegant; words and letters are irregularly spaced so that the number of missing letters cannot be exactly calculated.

Θεοφάνης Ἀνυσίῳ
[τῷ κυρί]ῳ [χ]ᾳ[ίρε]ιν· καὶ πρὸ τοῦ[τ]ου
ὁ πατ[ήρ μο]υ Διονύσιος [ἀγα]νακτῶν [τῷ] Σιλβανῷ [ὅτ]ι
κομεν[τ]αρή[σ]ιος χρειῶ[ν]ε[. .] ὀλίγων [οὐκ ἐ]φρόντι[ζε . .] .
ψιαι[. . . .]ν λέγοντα [. .] . [.] γίγνε[σθαι] ἔγραψα [δη]λοῦ-
σθαι σ[οι . . .]ενοστεω [. . . . .]α ὅσα [. . . . .] αριγο [. . . .]
μελι [. . . .] . αὐτῷ ἑκατὸν παράσχου·
[c. 24 letters] ς
[ὅ]τι πρ[. .] . λαρ[.]σημία ὡς . [.] υθον
[. .]λιουμενα ἀ[λλ]ὰ μὴ ἀμελήσῃς
κατε[πι]γούσῃ[ς . .]συτου της χρ[ει]ας
[. . . . .].ι[.]αγ[. .] . . [. . . . .] χ . υτω ω
[ ] . [ ]τ[
[ ] . [ ]ω[
[ ]χ[
[ ] . [
. . . . .

In right-hand margin against ll. 6–8:

[ἔρρωσθ]αί σε
π[ολλοῖ]ς
χρό[ν]οις
εὔχομαι
[κύ]ριέ μου.

Verso:

Θεο[φ]άνης Ἀν[υσίῳ]

1. Anusius, if not a member of Theophanes' household, may be identical with the Anusius ἀπὸ ἡγεμονι-⟨κ⟩ῶν of P. Giessen 117, a list of landowners in the Hermopolite nome; his service on the prefect's staff would account for his friendship with Theophanes.

3. Unless, which is improbable, a verb is concealed near the beginning of l. 5, the construction of this sentence, switching from ὁ πατὴρ to ἔγραψα, is κατὰ σύνεσιν.

4–5. Neither τινῶν nor πάνυ can be read before ὀλίγων; the traces do not suit οὐκ.

ἐ]φρόντι[ζεν] ὀ|ψιαί[τερο]ν is perhaps the likeliest reading, as the writer is unlikely to have used the iota adscript.

9. σημῖα (-εῖα) more likely than ς ἡ μία.

626. 8·5×7·5 cm. Fragment of a letter from Theophanes, written, unlike **625**, in a formal, official hand.
1 Θεοφάνης [2] Ἡ[φαιστ 3 [Σαρ]απάμμωνα τον[4 [...] κάτεσχον παρα [5 [...]εσσε[.

627–8. TRAVEL ACCOUNTS I: LISTS AND ACCOUNTS FOR THE OUTWARD JOURNEY

For this period of Theophanes' activity, from some time in Phamenoth when he leaves Upper Egypt until his arrival in Antioch on Pachon 7, we have two documents, an incomplete itinerary (**628**) listing the stages of his journey and a long papyrus with nine columns on each side. This is a rough draft of day to day accounts, not always in chronological order, of the itinerary and of lists of clothing, household equipment, wine, and miscellaneous possessions which both from their presence among the accounts and from their nature (e.g. l. 16) are pretty certainly packing lists for his travels. His wardrobe is elaborate and well selected for desert travelling; the number of rare and new words (among which those of Latin origin are conspicuous) suggest that he may have been something of a dandy. He travelled as far as Babylon by boat; after that there is no indication of his means of travel nor any mention of supplies for his beasts, presumably because he was travelling by government post.

No attempt is made to standardize the grammar of the accounts and lists in which the entries are made indifferently in the accusative, nominative, or genitive cases; misspellings are corrected, particularly where the sense might be affected, but forms in common use at the period (e.g. the termination *-ιν* for *-ιον*) are not corrected.

The verso of the itinerary contains a few notes of the stages of the homeward journey; these are given in their proper place (**638**).

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627. MEMORANDA AND ACCOUNTS

70×25·3 cm.

Col. i

ἀναγρ[α]φ[ὴ] σκευῶν
στιχάρια λε̣[πτὰ] β′
ἰδιόχρωμο[ς] α′
κα̅ δελματικὰ β′
ἰδιόχρωμοι β′
ζ μαφόρτι⟨α⟩ ἄλ(λα) β′
′ βίροι β′
′ χλαμὺς α′
ὀθονίων ὁμοί(ως)
στιχάρια δ′
ζ δελματίκαια δ′
ἀναβολάδια γ′
φακιάριον
δράκιον α′
βαλανάρια δ′
σαβανοφακιάρ(ιον) α′
σινδόνια δ
ῥωμαικὰ β′
κάμ̣π̣ιστρ[ον] α′
μαπία β̣′
ὁμηρικὸν [
[[α̣β̣ . [.] ο̣ι]] [
ευν . . α̣ν̣ο̣ . [
αλλ[. .] . τα [
γαυν̣[άκ](ης) χ̣[
βαλ[. .]μ̣ο̣[

Col. ii

στρώματ(α) ὁμοί(ως)
τύλας δε⟨ρ⟩ματ(ίνας) β′
περίστρω(μα) ακα( ) α′
γαυνάκης α′
λωδίκιν α
κερβικάρια β′
βρέκια β′

καλλίκιν α΄
οὐδωνάρ(ιον) α΄
τυλοτάπης α΄
τάπης μικ(ρὸς) α΄
στέγεστρα
τετράδρομα
προσκεφαλάδ(ιον)
φασκίας
σινδόνιν σιγματυρ( )

Col. iii

[. . .] . ε̣[.] . σ̣ι̣τ̣[
[. . .] .
[. . . .]τ̣ια
[. . . . . .] . ( )
[. . . . . .]λ̣( )
λ̣[. . . . . .]μας
ζ[ωμάρυσ]τρον
[. . . . . .]ς̣
α̣[ ]
σ[. . . . . ξ]ύλινον
κ[. . . . . .]ς σιδηροῦς
λ[ύχνος] ἐν τῷ λυχν(είῳ)
λ[ύχν(ος) κρε]μ̣αστός
τρ̣[. . . . .] π̣οτήρια
π[. . . . . .]ριν
σ̣[ ]
ι[ ]
λιν̣[. .] . [. μι]κρὸν
το( ) η̣λι̣τ [. . . .]
πη̣λ̣αχ̣[. . . . .] .
χηλωτὰ [ὀθό]ναι ις ἰδιόχρ(ωμοι) κδ̄
[κά]μπιστρα̣ [ ] ρπδ

Col. iv

κελλαρικ(ὰ) ὁμοί(ως)
οἴνου κνίδ(ια) [.]
σπαθία [.]
μέλιτος κνίδ(ια) [.] ς
ἐλαίου μετρ(ηταὶ) [.] ς
ψωμίων καθ(αρῶν) [.] λ̄
ψωμίων κιβαρ(ίων) [.] ÷
κρέως ἀγγῖα̣ [.] λ
τύροι [.]
αιλαι οἴν(ου) ξ(έσται) .
ὄξους κνίδ(ια) [.]
γάρους σπαθ(ία) [ ]
τ̣α̣ρίχ(ου) κνί̣δ(ια) [ ]
τ̣υρίων κνιδ(ία)
[ὁ]λ̣οφάκ(ων) σπ̣α̣θ̣(ία) [ ]
πεπόνιν β
κεφαλώ̣τ̣ια
ε̣φ . . ε̣ ( ) βάσκ̣υ̣λ̣α
ὑ(πο)πόδια
ὄψους
κίναραι
λάχανα
ὦα
ἁ̣πλοπότια
κ̣ά̣ρπι[[ο]]μα

Col. v

καταλογισμὸ[ς] ἐλαίου ῥαφ[ανίνου]
α [ἀγ]γ̣ί̣ω̣ν μετρητ(ὴς) α παρ[ὰ] κ̣[οτύ]λ(ας) ις
β [ὁμο]ί(ως)] χοέας η
γ ὁ[μοί(ως)] χοέας η
δ ὁ[μοί(ως)] χοέας η
ε [ὁμοι(ως)] μετρητ(ὴς) α π(αρὰ) κοτ̣(ύλας) [.]η

λ̣ή̣μ̣(μα)τ(α) [οἴνο]υ ἀπὸ Ἑρμησίο̣υ̣ [οἴ]ν(ου) κνίδ(ια) ν
μ[. . . . .]σ̣ιν ὁ̣μ̣(οίως) οἴνου κνίδ(ια) β̄ σπαθ(ία) η̣
[. . .]τ̣α̣κυρ( ) καὶ κνίδ(ια) β̄ [? ἀ(πὸ) Ἁρπά]λου κνίδ(ια) νδ̄ σπαθ(ία) ιβ̄
κ[αὶ ἀπὸ] Ἑρμοῦ δρομέ̣ως κνί[δ(ια)] δ΄
[Φαμεν]ὼθ̣ κζ εἰς ἄριστ(ον) ἐ̣π̣[ὶ τ]ου πλ(οίου) κνίδ(ιον) α
τ[οῖς αὐτ(οῖς)] εἰς δῖπνον μετὰ τῶν [παιδ]αρ(ίων) κνίδ(ια) δ
[τ]οῖς περὶ Εὐδαίμονα̣ κ̣[αι . .] . υδ . ( ) καὶ Ἀτρῆ̣ν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κνίδ( ) [ ]

κη εἰς ἄριστον οἴν̣ο̣υ κνίδ( ) [ ]
κθ σπαθ(ίον) α
λ εἰς δῖπνον κνίδ(ιον) α

Φαρμοῦθι ἐν Βαβυλῶνι
α εἰς δῖπνον οἴνου κνίδ(ιον) α
β ἐν Βαβυλῶνι
Εὐδαίμονι ὥστε Παννονίῳ
στρατιώτ(ῃ) καθολικ(οῦ) οἰ̣ν̣ο̣υ κνίδ(ια) β
ὁμοί(ως) ὀψὲ εἰς δῖπνον οἴνου κνίδ(ιον) α
ὁμοί(ως) εἰς ἄριστον οἴνου κνίδ(ιον) α
[ὁ]μοί(ως) ἐπὶ τῇ παρουσίᾳ τῶν
ὀφ(φικιαλίων) τοῦ ἡγεμ(όνος) κνίδ(ιον) α
[ὁμ]οί(ως) Παννονίῳ στρατιώτ(ῃ) οἰ̣ν̣(ου)
κνίδ(ιον) α
[ὁμοί(ως) ἡμῖν οἴνου κνίδ(ιον) α
[ὁμοί(ως)] τοῖς ναύταις ἀπερχομένοις
εἰς Ἑρμοῦ πόλιν μετὰ Ἀ̣χ̣ι̣λ̣̣(έως) κνίδ(ιον) α
[ὀψ]ὲ εἰς δῖπνον κνίδ(ιον) α

Col. vi

τ[. .] [[. .]]πηλο( ) ἀ̣χθέντ(ων) . . [.] . [.]
Φαμενὼθ κγ″
ἐλαίου ἀγγῖα ϵ
κρέως βᾰ́δ(ιον) α
κδ ὁμοί(ως)
οἴνου κνί[δ(ια)] ν
στυπτηρί̣[ας] λίνου κωτ( ) κβ ψιάθ(ια) ιδ
ὁμοί(ως) βϵ̣[. . . .] κωτ( ) κϛ ψιάθ(ια) ιγ″
ιη̄ ὁμ[οί(ως)] εἰς ἄριστον τοις ὀφ(φικιαλίοις)
κνίδ(ιον) α̅

Col. vii

λήμ(μα)τ(α) ἀργυρ(ίου) ἀπὸ μη(νὸς) προτέρου
λόγ(ου) ἀργυ(ρίου) (τάλ.) γ (δρ.) Ἐω
καὶ παρὰ Ἁρπάλου (ταλ.) β
γ(ίν.) ὁμοῦ (τάλ.) ϵ (δρ.) Ἐω

γ(ίν.) ἀναλώματ(α)
εἰς συμπλήρωσιν τιμ(ῆς) Θεοδούλῳ (τάλ.) ρ ὡς
ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ (δρ.) ψ
Ἑρμίνῳ μικ(ρῷ) βοηθ(ῷ) εἰς τιμ(ὴν) λίνου
ὠμοῦ (τάλ.) β (δρ.) Γ

παρ[ὰ τοῦ καθολ]ι̣κ(οῦ) ἐ̣λ̣(θόντι) [
τρ[
γ(ίν.) ἀ̣ν̣αλώ[ματα
ἐν Ἀντινο̣ε̣ι̣(τῶν) . . [ ] (δρ.) σ

Φαρμοῦθι
β̄ ἐν Βαβ[υλῶνι] . ( ) (δρ.) σ
τιμ(ῆς) λαχάν(ων) (δρ.) ρ
γ′ ὁμοί(ως) τιμ(ῆς) ὄψου (δρ.) υ
ἐπέτῃ ἐλ̣θ̣(όντι) ἀ̣π̣[ὸ Ἑρμο] ῦ̣ (πόλεως) (δρ.) σ
τιμ(ῆς) λαχάνων (δρ.) ρ
τιμ(ῆς) μέλιτος ει[ς . . .]μα (δρ.) ρ
τιμ(ῆς) κιναρ(ῶν) γ κα̣[. .]ρω (δρ.) σ
δ′ ὁμοί(ως) τῷ παραχύ̣τ̣(ῃ) (δρ.) ρ
ϵ′ τιμ(ῆς) θυδράκ(ων) (δρ.) ρ
τιμ(ῆς) λαχάνων (δρ.) ρ
τιμ(ῆς) ὀψοριδ(ίων) (δρ.) σ
τιμ(ῆς) στίβι (δρ.) ρ

Col. viii

ϵ̣ . [. . .]λ̣ιου ὁμοί(ως)
μυροθήκη
κελλάρ(ιον)
λιγγούρ(ιον)
χλαρ(όν)
ὀξυτυρ(ία)
ἄπλιν
χαλκεδόν(ιον)
ἀμέθυστ(ος)
ἐλαίου καλοῦ καψά(κης)
ἀνεμουρ( ) βιβραδ( )
τυρο(ῦ) βιθυρ( ) λι(τρ.) ϛ
ταρσιά
ἀνακτένια
πηνία
σχοινάρια
τρίχιν
σανδάλια
κίσηλ̣[ις]
σπα . [. . .] . [.] .
παλεστ[
ἄλλ( ) ὁμοί(ως) π̣ [. . . .] ις
τρ[
. [
τ[
ρυσ̣[
λ[
πεντ[

ἐντολικ( ) μ[
σφόγ[γ
σιγμάγια
ἐλαίου χρ[ηστοῦ
μυροθήκη

Col. ix

τιμ(ῆς) κρικίων γ εἰς τὰς πυκ( ) (δρ.)
τιμ(ῆς) κρέως λι(τρ.) δ (δρ.) χ
ζ̄ τιμ(ῆς) καλικ(ῶν) Ὡροῦ (δρ.) τ
η̄ τιμ(ῆς) λαχάνω[ν
[τ]ιμ(ῆς) κεμιων [
[ ] ὁμοί(ως)
[ ] τιμ(ῆς) ᾠων [
[ ] τιμ(ῆς) ὀψαρ(ιδίων) [
[ἐν Βαβ]υλῶνι
τιμ(ῆς) κιναρ(ῶν) [
τιμ(ῆς) κεμίων [
μετά ἐν Βαβυλ[ῶνι
Εὐδαίμονι ὥστ[ε . . .]ολικιου
νομικ(ῷ) ἀργυρ(ίου) (τάλ.) α

ιᾱ ἐν Ἀθρηβίτῳ		
τιμ(ῆς) κρέως	λι(τρ.) δ	(δρ.) χ
τιμ(ῆς) ᾠων		(δρ.) σ
τιμ(ῆς) λαχάνων		(δρ.) ρ
τιμ(ῆς) κεμίων		(δρ.) ρ
ιβ̄ [[τιμῆς νίτρου		(δρ.) σ]]
τιμ(ῆς) λουκανικ(ῶν)		[(δρ.)] σ

Verso

Col. i

εἰς ἄριστ(ον) Ὡρῳ Βέλλου (δρ.) σ
[[ἐν Ἡρακλέου⟨ς⟩]] (δρ.) ρ.
[[Βαβυλῶνι]]
ἐν Πηλουσίῳ
ὑ(πὲρ) τιμ(ῆς) πιλίου (δρ.) Βυ
ἐν Ἀσκάλων (δρ.) χ

(At bottom of column)

[. . . . .]ρω προνωπ . [
ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ

βασιλικὴ περι-
κεχρυσωμέ-
νη

εἴσοδος θέατρον
καὶ ᾠδῖον

γ´ ὁμ[οί(ως)] χ[ο]έας η
δ ὁμοί(ως) χοέας η

τὸ καταμονῆς
ᾱ ἀπὸ Νικίου εἰς Ἀθρῆβιν μίλ(ια)
β̄ ἀπὸ Ἀθρήβεως εἰς Λεοντόπ(ολιν) μίλ(ια) κ
γ̄ ἀπὸ Λεοντοπ(όλεως) εἰς Θμοῦειν μίλ(ια) κδ
δ̄ ἀπὸ Θμούειν εἰς Τάνεις μίλ(ια) κδ
ε̄ ἀπὸ Τάνεως εἰς Ἡρακλεόπ(ολιν) μίλ(ια) κα
ϛ̄ ἀπὸ Ἡρακλέους εἰς Πηλούσιν μίλ(ια) κδ
ζ̄ ἀπὸ Πηλου[[ερ]]σίου εἰς Γέρος μίλ(ια) ι
ἀπὸ Γέρος εἰς Πεντάσχοιν[ον μίλ(ια) ιβ]
η̄ ἀπὸ Πενταςχοίνου εἰς τὸ [Κάσιον
μίλ(ια)] ιϛ̄
θ̄ [ἀ]πὸ Κασίου εἰς Ὀστρακίν[ην μίλ(ια)] κϛ
[ἀπὸ Ὀσ]τρακίνης εἰς Ῥιν[οκόρωνα
μίλ(ια)] κδ
[ἀπὸ Ῥινο]κόρωνα ⟨εἰς⟩ Βουτάφιον [μίλ(ια)]
[ἀπὸ Βου]ταφίου εἰς Ῥαφεία[ν μίλ(ια)] γ
[ἀπὸ Ῥ]αφίας εἰς Γάζα [μίλ(ια)] κδ
[ἀπὸ] Γάζα εἰς Ἀσκάλ[ων μί]λ(ια) ιε
ιγ̄ [ἀπὸ] Ἀσκάλων εἰς Εἰαμία[ν μί]λ(ια) κ
[ἀπὸ] Εἰαμίας εἰς Λούνδ[α μ]ίλ(ια) ιβ
ιδ̄ [ἀπ]ὸ Λούνδα εἰς Ἀντιπ[ατ(ρίδα) μί]λ(ια) ια
ἀπὸ Ἀντιπατρίδος εἰς τὴν Ἀ[λλα]γὴν
⟨μίλ(ια)⟩ ιζ
ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλλαγῆς εἰς Κεσαρίαν μ(ίλια) ις
ιε̄ ἀπὸ Κεσαρίας εἰς Πτολεμαείδα μ(ίλια) μδ//
Τύρος
ις̄ ἀπὸ Πτολεμαίδος εἰς [[Βιρυτὸν]] ⟨μ(ίλια)⟩ με
Βι Τύρος
ιζ̄ ἀπὸ [[ρυτοῦ]] εἰς Ζανάρα ⟨μ(ίλια)⟩ ις
ἀπὸ Ζανάρας εἰς Σιδόνιον ⟨μ(ίλια)⟩ κ
ιη̄ ἀπὸ Σιδόνιον εἰς Βιρυτὸν ⟨μ(ίλια)⟩ λδ
ιθ̄ ἀπὸ Βιρυτοῦ εἰς Βίβλον ⟨μ(ίλια)⟩ κδ

Col. iii

ἀναλώματ(α) οἴνου ἐπὶ τοῦ πλοίου
κα εἰς ἄριστον οἴν(ου) κνίδ(ιον) α

[κ]ζ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι
τιμ(ῆς) ψωμίων κιβαρ(ίων) παιδ(ίοις) δρ. σ
ἐλαίου σοι εἰς βαλανεῖ(ον) (δρ.) ρ
τιμ(ῆς) νίτρου [(δρ.)] ψ
ἀναλώματα [. . . . .] .
ις ιζ Φαρμ[οῦθ]ι καὶ αὐτὴν (τάλ.) α (δρ.) Ε
καὶ εἰς λόγ(ον) [[οικ]] οἴνου (τάλ.) α (δρ.) Δ
γί(ν.) ὁμοῦ [(τάλ.)] γ (δρ.) Δ
καὶ ἀπὸ ιη ἐν προχ[είρῳ] (τάλ.) λγ (δρ.) Γ
τῷ καινῷ λόγ[ῳ

(At bottom of column)

παρὰ Εὐλογίου α (τάλ.) δ
ιη ἀ(πὸ) τοῦ (αὐτοῦ) ἐν Πηλου[σίῳ] (τάλ.) α
κγ ἐν Γάζα π(αρὰ) τοῦ (αὐτοῦ) (τάλ.) α

Col. iv

ιγ [. . . .] . [. . λό]γου
τ[ιμ(ῆς) ἐλαί]ου ῥαφανίνου (δρ.) φ
τ[ιμ(ῆς) ἐλαί(ου)] ῥαφαν(ίνου) (δρ.) φ
τ[ιμ(ῆς) . . .]ῳν καὶ ἐρεβινθίων (δρ.) ρ

Παχὼν τω . [. . . . λό]γου
γ Ἑρμ[ῆ . . . . . .] τ [. .]
δ ⟨ἐν⟩ Ἀντάραβος [
ε ἐν Βαλα[έοις . . .] . σ . [ ]
ἐν τῷ μικρῷ Βαλ[ανείῳ ?]
εἰς πῖν (δρ.) ρ
σοὶ εἰς χεῖρ(α) ὑ(πὲρ) ψωμ(ίων) (δρ.) σ
ἐν Λαδικίᾳ
τιμ(ῆς) καθαροῦ [[(δρ.) φ]]

[[Σαρματ(ῶν)]]
[[εἰς χρῆσιν]] (δρ.) Α

〃Εὐδαίμονι
Ἑρμῆ
κς ἐν Κεσαρίᾳ
Εὐδαίμονι
κη εἰς τα γενέσ[ια
τῇ θυγ[ατρὶ ?
〃ἐν Σιδονί[ῳ].
ἐν Βιρυτῷ [ ]

Col. v

Εὐδα[ίμονι] ὡς Λαδικι[ᾳ εἰς]
ἄριστ[ον] (δρ.) ω
ὀψέ σοι ε[ἰ(ς) δῖπ(νον)] ἀπαλοῦ κρέως (δρ.) σ
Ὥρῳ ἀ[πὸ Λα]δικίας (δρ.) σ
Ἑρμῇ μ[είνα]ντι Λαδικί(ᾳ) (δρ.) Αφ
η ἐν[[.]]τῷ [τα]βερνίῳ
σπαθ[ία ἐ]πιβαλλ(όμενου) γλυ(κέος) (δρ.) σ
η Εὐδαίμον[ι] ἀπὸ τ(οῦ) (αὐτοῦ) Ἑρμοῦ
ὑ(πὲρ) τιμ(ῆς) κρέ[ως ἐν Κ]αισαρηίᾳ (δρ.) ρ
εἰς θ Εὐδαίμ[ονι] (δρ.) Αρ
εἰς ἄριστ(ον) [ ] . . . (δρ.) τ
Ἑρμῇ μ[. . . . .] . . . . (δρ.) φ
ια Ἑρμῇ τ[. . . .]ει . ( ) (δρ.) φ

[[Σαρματ(αῖς) (δρ.) Ε]]
[[Ὥρῳ (δρ.) Α]]
Ἡρακλέ[ωνος τ[. . .]. [. .]θ
α (δρ.) Δ
ιη ὁμοί(ως) τοῦ (αὐτοῦ) (δρ.) Δ
κγ τοῦ (αὐτοῦ) (δρ.) Δ

Col. vi

Ἡρακλέ[ωνι (δρ.) .
τῆς (αὐτῆς) ἡμέρ(ας) ὀψὲ
τ(οῖς) Σαρμ(αταῖς) ς̄ (δρ.) υ
Σαρματῶν
εἰς χρῆ(σιν) (δρ.) φ

Col. vii

ἰδ[ίο]υ λόγου . [. .] . ι
ιη τ[ιμ(ῆς)] ψ[ωμίων[ ] [[.]]
ἐν Ῥαφίᾳ [[τ[. . . . . .]ε]]
κδ ἐν Ἀσκάλω[ν]
τιμ(ῆς) ψωμίω[ν] (δρ.) ω
κε τιμ(ῆς) ψωμίω[ν] (δρ.) ω
κς τιμ(ῆς) ψω[μίων] (δρ.) ω
τιμ(ῆς) σαφω[νίου] (δρ.) σ
κζ τιμ(ῆς) ψωμί[ων] (δρ.) ω
κη ψωμί[ων] (δρ.) ω
κθ ψωμίω[ν] (δρ.) ω
λ ψωμ[ίων] . (δρ.) ω

Col. viii

εἰς Θεουπροσώπῳ μίλ(ια) ιη
325 κ ἀπὸ Βίβλου εἰς Τρ[ίπο]λιν λς
κα ἀπὸ Τριπόλ[εως εἰς Ἄρκας] ις
κβ ἀπὸ Ἄρκας ε[ἰς Ἀντάραδον] λ
κγ ἀπὸ Ἀνταρ[άδου εἰς Βαλα]νέα κδ
κδ ἀπὸ Βαλανέα [εἰς Ἰβε]λλα ιδ
330 ἀπὸ Ἰβελλα εἰ[ς Λαδι]κία⟨ν⟩ κ
κε ἀπὸ Λαδικίας [εἰς τὰ Ὑδα]τα ν
ἀπὸ τῶν Ὑδάτω[ν εἰς Δ]άφνας ι
ἀπὸ Δάφνας εἰς [Ἀν]τιοχίας δ

Col. ix

[[δ]]αξιάρ(χῳ) [
εἰς
335 [[ροβ]] δῖπ(νον) [

κελαρ[ικά
δεντ . [
κυθρα[ν
ξύλ( ) ἀλ[λ
340 ψιάθ( ) (ταλ.) [
εἰς κάμπιστ[ρ(ον)
κάμπιστρ(ον) [
δεματ( ) ξυλ[
καὶ μικ(ροῦ) δελμ[α]τ[ικοῦ
345 πηχοτ( ) καμπιστ[ρ
καβιδίων β [
τ(ων) ὑλικ(ῶν) ἐνε[
ἀργυρ(ίου) (τάλ.) δ

γ(ίν.) ἀρ(γυρίου) (τάλ.) α (δρ.) σ.

7. l. *βίρροι* 11. l. *δελματίκια* 20. l. *μαππία* 34. l. *καλίκιν* 59. ϊ P. 153. l. *ὀψαριδ(ίων)* 202. l. *Ἀθρηβίτῃ* 215. *ἱερω* 219. l. *θεάτρου* 220. l. *ᾠδείου* 226. l. *Θμούεως* 324. l. *Θεουπρόσωπον* 335. l. *κελλαρ[ικά*

3. *ἰδιόχρωμος*: not hitherto known as a substantive.

4. The form *δελ(δαλ-)ματικόν* for *-κή* or *-κιον* is new.

6. *ζ* i.e. *ζ(ήτησον)*: presumably these articles were found to be missing when required for packing.

14. *δράκιον*: *addendum lexicis*. It may be connected with *δράσσομαι, δράγμα*, perhaps with the meaning *hand-towel*; alternatively it might be regarded as a diminutive of irregular formation from *δράκων* in the sense of *scarf* (cf. the use of *δράκων* = a *cross bandage*).

18. *ῥωμαικά*: obviously some article of clothing; this is the first instance of this usage.

19. *κάμπιστρον*: *loin-cloth* or *girdle*, see LSJ., addenda.

21. *ὁμηρικόν*: this sense of the word is new and is interesting as an example of the effect of culture on fashion. We may note in this connexion the revival of such heroic names as Achilles, Meleager, Menelaus (cf. the indexes to P. Flor. and P. Lips.).

33. *βρέκια* = *βράκια, breeches*, cf. *βρεκάριος* for *βρακάριος*, cited in LSJ. from an unpublished London papyrus.

34. A diminutive of *κάλικα* (*caliga*); in PSI. VIII. 886 it appears as *καλίγιον*.

36. *Addendum lexicis*; perhaps a cross between a cushion and a rug.

38. i.e. *στέγαστρα*, cf. Latin *segestrum*.

39. i.e. *τετράδερμα*; for its meaning cf. T. C. Skeat in *Classical Review*, XLVII. 211.

42. *σιγματυρ(ος?)* has not occurred before; the termination is puzzling, the meaning may well be *sigma shaped*.

60. Perhaps *λιν[άρ]ι[ον]* should be read here.

63. *χηλωτά*: from an otherwise unknown *χηλωτός*, either from *χηλή* (cited from Hesychius in the sense *net, plait*) or from *χηλός, chest*.

71. *κιβάριος* (see LSJ., addenda), primarily used of bread of coarse quality (cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 5, 34, 97 and Isid. *Orig.* s.v.: *panis cibarius est qui ad cibum servis datur nec delicatus*). In these accounts the word is used in the neuter plural as is Latin *cibaria* = *victuals, rations*, and as an adjective to express quality or its absence, cf. Latin *vinum cibarium*.

72. *ἀγγεῖον* as a measure is used only of liquids. The reference here may be to tubs of salted meat.

74. *αιλαι*: we can find no convincing explanation of this word, the reading of which is not in doubt.

77. Here as elsewhere in the archive the cnidion is used as a dry as well as a liquid measure.

81. *κεφαλώτια*: *addendum lexicis; heads of vegetables* or perhaps *leeks*, cf. *κεφαλωτόν*.

82. *βάσκ̣υ̣λα* = *vascula* (cf. *βασκαύλης*).

88. *ἁπλοπότια*: perhaps connected with *πότος*, *-πότιον*.

90. *καταλογισμός*: *addendum lexicis*. At this point the memoranda end and the accounts begin; the change is marked by a difference in ink and hand. The new hand is, to begin with, very cursive; thus in l. 100 *Παχ*]*ω̣ν* is a possible alternative reading.

97. For the *σπαθίον* see A. Segrè, *Metrologia*, p. 34; it cannot be regarded as a subdivision of the cnidion.

112. The *catholicus* was probably Vitalis, cf. p. 105.

121. At the beginning of the line probably *τῶν* corrected from *τοῖς*. In this and the following lines some previous expenses *en route* from Hermopolis are sandwiched between expenses in Babylon, resumed in l. 143.

For *πηλο*( ) cf. **642**, 11 note.

127. *κωτ*( ): this can hardly = *κοτύλη*, as such an amount would normally be expressed in *sextarii*; if it is a measure of which *ψιάθος* or *ψιάθιον* is a sub-unit, it must have been pretty capacious.

138. Perhaps *στρατιώτῃ vel sim.* has fallen out at the beginning of the line.

146. For *ἐπέτης* cf. Latin *secutor*; in LSJ. the word is only cited from Pindar and Ap. Rhod. It might be regarded as a form of *ἠπητής*, but the context and general level of orthography make this unlikely: cf. **630** 29.

148. Perhaps *εἰ*[*ς χρῖσ*]*μα*.

151. See note on **629**, 233.

154. *στίβι*, antimony, was used probably for medicinal purposes rather than as a cosmetic.

155. Perhaps *ἐν* [*Ἡ*]*λίου* (*sc. πόλει*) if the letters were widely spaced.

159. *χλαρ*(*όν*) is cited by Hesychius as = *κόχλας*, *pebble*. Here it is probably used of a semi-precious stone.

161. *ἄπλιν addendum lexicis*.

162. This word is quoted from Dioscorides as meaning *antimony*, but in this context it is more natural to take it as the diminutive of *χαλκηδών*, *chalcedony* (cf. *Apoc.* xxi. 19).

165. *ἀνεμούριος* is cited only in the sense *windmill*, *βιβραδ*( ) not at all; the latter may be connected with Latin *vibrare*. The object may have been some small machine, for example, a kind of fan.

166. *βιθυρ*( ) *addendum lexicis*, unless *Βιθυνός* was intended.

167. Perhaps for *τρασιά*, *figs*.

168. *Addendum lexicis*.

170. *Addendum lexicis*.

171. Perhaps = a *wig*.

174. Perhaps connected with the root *παλαιστ-*.

183. *ἐντολικ*(*όν*): perhaps in the sense *prescription*.

185. Probably *σιγμάτια* should be read here, cf. l. 42.

188. Possibly *πυβ*(*λικάς*) should be read here, but elsewhere the writer's *β* is always of the closed, not the open type.

192. This word, which occurs frequently throughout the accounts, is probably not a form of *καίμιον* but denotes some kind of vegetable and may be connected with the Coptic *καμ*, *reed*, *rush*.

200. Perhaps for *καθ*]*ολικοῦ*.

202 sqq. To indicate that these entries are out of sequence the writer has ringed them round.

208. *Lucanicum* is used of a particularly large brand of sausage.

214. *προνώπια* is cited only in the plural, but *προνωπί*[*ῳ* is a more likely reading here than *πρὸ νώτ̣ο̣υ̣*. The temple would be that of Astarte—Aphrodite.

216. Perhaps a gilded statuette of the emperor.

219–20. Askalon was famous in antiquity for its philhellenic sympathies, and was one of the recipients of Herod's benefactions. Till now, however, there has been no evidence that it possessed a theatre and concert hall, although the latter may be the *ᾠδεῖον* of CIG. 4614 (for games at Askalon see CIG. III, index).

223. i.e. list of stopping-places; the usual equivalent of *mansio* in this sense is *μονή*. In the list the figures on the left record the stages, not the days, of the month.

224. The writer forgot to enter the number of miles for this stage.

230. *Γέρος*: for the various forms of this name (Gerae, Gerra, etc.) see K. Miller, op. cit., p. 813. This

particular form occurs in the *Notitiae Episcoporum*. We may note that in these lists non-Hellenic names are generally treated as indeclinable.

234–5. This form of Rhinocoroura has not occurred before. Boutaphion must be identified with the *Βηθαφοῦ* recorded by Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, as being the frontier-post between Palestine and Egypt. (The Semitic name means *Place of Apples*; Eusebius, the only ancient writer to mention the place, states that it is 14 miles from Raphia, which agrees well enough with the *ι*]*γ* of the papyrus.) The site is now occupied by Bir Gabr Amir (see F. M. Abel in *Revue Biblique*, XLIX (1940), 227).

239. i.e. Jamnia. This form is peculiar to the papyrus, as is *Λούνδα* (Lydda) and *Ζανάρα* (Sarepta).

240. It is interesting to find the old Jewish name instead of Diospolis, the name given to the new settlement after the destruction of the town in the Jewish War.

242. *τὴν ἀλλαγήν*, i.e. *mutatio*. This halt, in the light of **630***, 399, can be identified with Bettara, mentioned in Jerome as a *mutatio* between Antipatris and Caesarea. M. Avi-Yonah in his 'Map of Roman Palestine', p. 24 (*Qtly. of Dept. of Antiq. in Palestine*, vol. V) shows a roadside station on the site of the village of Ṭibta (modern et-Ṭayibe). Cf. **638**, 17 note.

250. The journey as far as Babylon was presumably made by river.

252. On Pharmouthi 1 Theophanes was in Babylon and on the 11th in the Athribite; he probably arrived in Babylon from the Antinoite towards the end of Phamenoth (perhaps the 23rd: cf. l. 121).

256. Perhaps [*εἰς ὁδὸ*)*ν*.

256. The 'new account' begins when he leaves Babylon.

273. No place of this name is recorded.

276. i.e. *Λαοδίκεια* (modern Latiki).

285. This continues the entry of the previous line.

312. This is either the 'private account of Theophanes' secretary or else expenditure which Theophanes is not charging to 'expenses'.

324. A headland between Tripolis and Botrys, now Ras-es-Shaqqa (see A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 289).

325. The *κ̄* picks up from *ιθ̄* in l. 247.

329. *Βαλανέα*: this form is found in the Antonine Itinerary. The form Ibella for Gebala (now Jebilee or Dsebele) is peculiar to the papyrus: cf. **630***, 408.

332. In the ancient geographers this place appears as Hysdata; for once the papyrus has preserved the correct form.

335. Or *κελ*〈*λ*〉*αρ*[*ίῳ*.

341. For this word see LSJ., addenda.

345. Perhaps a derivative of *πῆχυς* should be recognized here.

347. *καβίδιον, addendum lexicis*: cf. *καβιδάριος*.

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628. ITINERARY

16·5×20·7 cm.

A fuller version of the itinerary is preserved in draft form and embedded in the preceding text; for comment on and reconstruction of the journey see pp. 105 sq.

A few letters only survive of a second column, which did not extend lower than l. 9 of column 1. On the verso, badly smudged, is part of a draft of the return route.

[*ᾱ* *ἀπὸ Λε*]*οντο*[*πόλεως εἰς Θμοῦειν*
[*ἀπὸ Θμ*]*οῦειν* [*εἰς Τάνεις*
[*ἀπὸ Τά*]*νεις εἰ*[*ς Ἡρακλεόπολιν*
[*ἀπ*]*ὸ* [*Ἡ*]*ρακλεοπ*[*όλεως εἰς Πελούσιον*

5 [ἀπ]ὸ Π[ε]λουσίου εἰ[ς τὸ Γέρας
[ἀπ]ὸ τ[ο]ῦ Γέρας εἰς Π[εντάσχοινον
[ἀπὸ] Πεντασχοίνου ε[ἰς τὸ Κάσιον
[ἀπὸ] τ̣ο̣[ῦ] Κασίου εἰς Ὀσ̣τ̣[ρακίνην
[ἀπὸ Ὀ]στρακίνης εἰς Ῥινοκ[όρουρα
10 [ἀπὸ Ῥι]νοκόρουρα [εἰ]ς̣ Β̣[ουτάφις
[ἀπὸ] Βουτάφις εἰς Ῥαφ[ία
[ἀ]πὸ Ῥαφίας εἰς Γάζα [
[ἀ]πὸ Γάζα εἰς Ἀσκάλων [
[ἀ]πὸ Ἀσ[κάλ]ων εἰς [Εἰαμία
15 [ ] ἀπὸ Εἰα[μία] εἰς Λούν̣[δα
$\overline{[ι]δ}$ ἀπὸ Λούν̣[δα] εἰς Ἀντ[ιπατρίδα καὶ εἰς τὴν]
Ἀλλαγ(ὴν) ἀ(πὸ) [Ἀντι]π(ατρίδος) [
ἀπὸ τῆ̣ς̣ [Ἀλλαγῆ]ς εἰς Κ̣ε̣[σαρίαν
$\overline{[ι]ε}$ ἀπὸ Κε[σαρίας] εἰς Πτο[λεμαίδα
20 $\overline{ις}$ ἀπὸ Π̣τ̣ο̣[λεμαί]δ̣ος εἰς̣ [Τύρον
$\overline{ιζ}$ ἀπὸ Τ[ύρου εἰς] [[Σιδ]] Ζ̣α̣νάρα ις
ἀπὸ Ζ̣[ανάρα]ς̣ εἰς Σιδόνι[ον κ
$\overline{ιη}$ ἀπὸ [Σιδονίου εἰ]ς̣ Βιρυτὸν [λ] δ
$\overline{[ι]θ}$ ἀπὸ Β̣[ιρυτοῦ εἰς] Β[ίβ]λον λ̣δ̣
25 ἀπὸ Β[ίβλου εἰς Τρίπ]ολιν [λ] ς

. . . . . .

11. Presumably for *Βούταφος*, a variant of *Βουτάφιον* (see **627**, 234–5 note).

17. There is no mark of abbreviation after the final *π*; that after the *α* of *ἀπό* may be lost in the gap. Alternatively, *ἀ*[*πὸ Ἀ*(*ντι*)]*π*(*άτριδος*) could be read.

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629. TRAVEL ACCOUNTS II: ANTIOCH

24·3×60 cm.

Theophanes reached Antioch on Pachon 7 and started on his homeward journey about Epeiph 26. For this stay of two and a half months the accounts for Pauni are completely preserved on a single strip of papyrus, the least damaged and most clearly written in the entire archive. It is doubtful whether any part of the accounts for Pachon is extant (see **639**, introduction), while the accounts for Epeiph are so entangled with those for the homeward journey that they are given together.

Recto

Col. i

μορίω[*ν*] (δρ.) ρ
τιμ(*ῆς*) *σφόγγου ἄλλου*
δι(*ὰ*) *τοῦ ἰατροῦ* (δρ.) Ἀω
. . [. . .] *σ* . . [. . .]*ω̣ν* (δρ.) ρ

5 *γυρί*(*ου*) (δρ.) *σ*

. . . .

(16 lines blank)

. . . .

[*δι*(*ὰ*) . . . . . *ἀπερ*]*χομένου*

εἰς Ἑρμοῦ (πό)λ(ιν) (ταλ.) γ‴
[γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας)] (τάλ.) κ

Col. ii

Παῦνι ᾱ ἀναλώμ(α)τ(α)
τιμ(ῆς) ψωμίων καθαρῶν (δρ.) ω
κιβαρ(ίων) τοῖς παιδίοις (δρ.) Ἀσ
τυρίου (δρ.) ρ
ἐ̣[λ]αίας (δρ.) ρ
τ̣[αρίχο]υ (δρ.) ρ
[. . . . .]ν (δρ.) ρ
[ ] . (δρ.) σ
[ ] (δρ.) σ
σ̣[ ] . (δρ) ᾱ (δρ.) Ἀχ
κα[ροιδίων] (δρ.) ρ
[γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας)] (δρ.) Δχ

[β̄]
[ ] (δρ.) ω
[κιβαρ(ίων) τοῖς π]αιδίοις (δρ.) Ἀσ
κ̣ρ[έως λι(τρ.)] δ (δρ.) Ἀσ
ὦ̣ω̣[ν] (δρ.) υ
τουρτίων [εἰς ἄ]ρ̣ι̣στο(ν) (δρ.) χ
λουκανικ̣[ῶν] (δρ.) υ
τυρίου (δρ.) σ
ταρίχου (δρ.) ρ
ἐλαί⟨α⟩ς (δρ.) ρ
ὀψαριδ(ίου) (δρ.) τ
καροιδ(ίων) [καὶ] σχαδ(ίων) εἰς ἄριστ(ον) (δρ.) σ
λαχάν̣ω̣ν (δρ.) ρ
ξύλων (δρ.) σ
ἐλαίου κιβαρ(ίου) (δρ.) ψ
οἴνου σπαθίου (δρ.) Βω
κεμοραφάνου (δρ.) ρ
καροιδίων καὶ σχαδί(ων) εἰς δῖπ(νον) (δρ.) ρ
κεφαλωτίων (δρ.) ρ
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (τάλ.) α (δρ.) Γψ

Col. iii

γ̄
τιμ(ῆς) καθαρῶν (δρ.) χ
κιβαρ(ίων) τοῖς παιδίοις (δρ.) Ἀσ
τιμ(ῆς) κρέως εἰς ἁλίσε λι(τρ.) θ (δρ.) Βω
ἁλὸς (δρ.) σ
ξύλων (δρ.) σ
λαχάνω̣ν̣ (δρ.) ρ
ταρ[ίχ]ου (δρ.) ρ
ἐλαίας (δρ.) ρ
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (τάλ.) α (δρ.) σ

δ̄
τιμ(ῆς) καθαρῶν ϛ (δρ.) χ
κιβαρ(ίων) τοῖς παιδίοις (δρ.) Τ
ἐλαίας (δρ.) ρ
ξύλων (δρ.) σ
λαχάνων (δρ.) ρ
ὦ̣ων (δρ.) σ
κολοκύνθ(ων) (δρ.) ρ
καροιδίων καὶ σχαδ(ίων) εἰς δῖπνον (δρ.) ρ
ἀψινθίου (δρ.) σ
κεμοραφάν(ου) (δρ.) ρ
ἐλαίου κιβαρίου (δρ.) ψ
τιμ(ῆς) κολλη(μάτων) β χάρτου (δρ.) σ
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) Γφ

Col. iv

ε̄
τιμ(ῆς) καθαρ(ῶν) ψωμ(ίων) (δρ.) ψ
κιβαρ(ίων) τοῖς παιδίοις (δρ.) Τ
τυρίου (δρ.) ρ
ταρίχου (δρ.) ρ
ἐλαίας (δρ.) ρ
λαχάνων (δρ.) ρ
ξύλων (δρ.) σ
κολοκύνθ(ων) (δρ.) ρ
ὦ̣ων (δρ.) σ
τουρτίων β εἰς δῖπ(νον) (δρ.) σ
οἴνου σπαθ(ίου) α (δρ.) Β̣Τ
καροιδίων καὶ σχαδ(ίων) εἰς δῖπνον (δρ.) ρ
κεμοραφάνο̣υ̣ (δρ.) ρ
σικυδίω̣ν̣ (δρ.) ρ
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμ[έρ(ας) (δρ.)Ε]χ
γ(ίν.) τῶν ἀπὸ ᾱ ἕως ε̄ καὶ αὐτῆς ἡμερῶν ε̄ ἀναλώματ(α) (τάλ.) δ ⟨(δρ.)⟩Ε[[φ]]ψ

ϛ̄
τιμ(ῆς) ψωμίων καθαρ(ῶν) (δρ.) φ

κιβαρ(ίων) τοῖς παιδίοις (δρ.) Ͳ
τιμ(ῆς) λαχάνων (δρ.) ρ
τιμ(ῆς) βοριδίων εἰς τὸ γάρος (δρ.) ψ
σχαδίων ὁμο(ίως) εἰς τὸ (αὐτὸ) (δρ.) σ
ἁλὸς (δρ.) σ
οἴνου ἡμικαβί(ου) γλυκίου (δρ.) χ
ξύλων εἰς τὸ (αὐτὸ) (δρ.) ρ
ὀψε οἴ[ν]ο̣υ̣ εἰς ἔψησιν {ξύλων} (δρ.) σ
ᾠῶν (δρ.) σ
ἐλαίας (δρ.) ρ
τυρίου (δρ.) ρ
ταρίχου (δρ.) ρ
τουρ̣τ̣ίου α (δρ.) ρ
κε[μο]ρ̣αφάν(ου) (δρ.) ρ
ἐλαίου κιβαρίου (δρ.) ψ
ἀφονίτρου εἰς βαλ(ανεῖον) (δρ.) ρ
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) ʼΕ

Col. v

ζ̄
τιμ(ῆς) καθαρ(ῶν) ψωμί(ων) γ (δρ.) τ
κιβαρίων τοῖς παιδί(οις) (δρ.) Ͳ
σαφω[ν]ίων (δρ.) σ
λαχάνων (δρ.) ρ
ξύλων (δρ.) σ
ἐλαίας (δρ.) ρ
ταρίχου (δρ.) ρ
τυρίου (δρ.) ρ
τουρτίου ᾱ (δρ.) ρ
ᾠῶν (δρ.) σ
κολοκύνθ(ων) (δρ.) ρ
σικυδίου (δρ.) ρ
ἐλαίου χρηστ(οῦ) (δρ.) ʼΑσ
ἀψινθίου (δρ.) σ
κεμοραφάν(ου) (δρ.) ρ
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) ʼΔ

η̄
τιμ(ῆς) χάρτου κολλ(ημάτων) δ (δρ.) υ
τιμ(ῆς) καθαρ(ῶν) δ̄ (δρ.) υ
κιβαρ(ίων) τοῖς παιδ(ίοις) (δρ.) Ͳ
λαχάνων (δρ.) ρ
ταρίχου (δρ.) ρ
ἐλαίας (δρ.) ρ
ξύλων (δρ.) σ
[ἐλαίο]υ κιβαρ(ίου) (δρ.) Ͳ
λο̣[υκ]ανικῶν εἰς ἄριστ(ον)
[π]ρὸς Εὐλόγιον (δρ.) σ
τιμ̣(ῆς) [σ]ύ̣κων (δρ.) σ
τυρί[ου] (δρ.) ρ

Col. vi

κρομύδιν (δρ.) ρ
κεμοραφ(άνου) (δρ.) ρ
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) ʼΓχ

θ̄
τιμ(ῆς) καθαρ(ῶν) ε̄ (δρ.) φ
κιβαρίων τοῖς παιδίοις (δρ.) ω
λαχάνων καὶ κολοκύνθ(ων) (δρ.) ρ
ξύλων (δρ.) σ
ᾠῶν (δρ.) υ
οἴνου (δρ.) Ἀρ
εἰς βαλανῖον μετὰ Ἀντωνίνου (δρ.) σ
κεμοραφάν(ου) (δρ.) ρ
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) ʼΓυ

ι[[α]]
τιμ(ῆς) ψωμίων καθαρ(ῶν) δ (δρ.) υ
κιβαρίου τοῖς παιδίοις (δρ.) ω
τιμ(ῆς) λαχάνων καὶ κολοκύνθ(ων) (δρ.) ρ
ξύλων (δρ.) ρ
ταρίχου (δρ.) ρ
ἐλαίας (δρ.) ρ
τυρίου (δρ.) ρ
ᾠῶν (δρ.) σ
ʽΩρῳ ἐκ κελεύσεως σου τιμῆς χάρτου (δρ.) υ
κεμοραφάνου (δρ.) ρ
ἀρμένια (δρ.) ρ
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) ʼΒφ
γ(ίν.) τῶν ἀπὸ ε̄ ἕως ῑ καὶ αὐτῆς ἡμερ(ῶν) ε̄ ἀναλώματ(α) (ταλ.) γ̄ (δρ.) φ

Col. vii

ιᾱ
τιμ(ῆς) ψωμίων καθαρ(ῶν) (δρ.) υ
κιβαρίων (δρ.) χ

	κολοκυνθίων	(δρ.) σ	
	σικυδίων	(δρ.) ρ	
	ἐλαίας	(δρ.) ρ	
	ταρίχου	(δρ.) ρ	
170	τυρίου	(δρ.) ρ	
	ᾠῶν	(δρ.) σ	
	ξύλων	(δρ.) ρ	
	ἀψινθίου	(δρ.) σ	
	κνήθων	(δρ.) ρ	
175	ἐλαίου κιβαρίου	(δρ.) ψ	
	κεμοραφ(άνου)	(δρ.) ρ	
	τιμ(ῆς) ἀγγίων ξυλίνων	(δρ.) υ	
	γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας)	(δρ.) Γυ	
	ιβ		
180	τιμ(ῆς) ψωμίων καθαρ(ῶν)	(δρ.) υ	
	κιβαρίων τοῖς παιδιόις	(δρ.) χ	
	λαχάνων	(δρ.) ρ	
	ξύλων	(δρ.) ρ	
	κρέως λι(τρῶν) δ εἰς ἁλίσε	(δρ.) Ασ	
185	καροιδίων	(δρ.) ρ	
	οἴνου ἡμίκαβος	(δρ.) ψ	
	κεμοραφάνου	(δρ.) ρ	
	[[ᾠῶν]]	(δρ.)	
	γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας)	(ρ) Γτ	
190	ιγ		
	τιμ(ῆς) ψωμίω(ν) καθαρ(ῶν)	(δρ.) υ	
	κιβαρίων τοῖς παιδίοις	(δρ.) χ	
	ὄξος	(δρ.) ρ	
	Col. viii		
	κολοκύνθ(ων) εἰς γάμ(ον)		
195	Ρελλ(ίου)	(δρ.) ρ	
	λαχάνων	(δρ.) ρ	
	ξύλων	(δρ.) ρ	
	ᾠῶν	(δρ.) σ	
	τυρίου	(δρ.) ρ	
200	ἐλαίας	(δρ.) ρ	
	ταρίχου	(δρ.) ρ	
	εἰς βαλανῖον	(δρ.) ρ	
	ἀφονίτρου	(δρ.) ρ	
	κεμοραφ(άνου)	(δρ.) ρ	
205	κρομυδίο(υ)	(δρ.) ρ	
	γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας)	(δρ.) Βτ	
	ιδ		
	τιμ(ῆς) ψωμίων καθαρ(ῶν)	(δρ.) υ	
	κιβαρίων τοῖς παιδίοι(ς)	(δρ.) χ	
210	κολοκυνθίν εἰς ἔψησιν	(δρ.) ρ	
	ξύλων	(δρ.) ρ	
	ᾠῶν	(δρ.) σ	
	σικυδίων	(δρ.) ρ	
	σταφυλιναρ(ίων)	(δρ.) ρ	
215	κεμοραφάνου	(δρ.) ρ	
	γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας)	(δρ.) Ἀψ	
	ιε		
	τιμ(ῆς) ψωμίων καθαρ(ῶν)	(δρ.) υ	
	κιβαρίων τοῖς παιδίοις	(δρ.) χ	
220	σαφωνίου	(δρ.) σ	
	ἐλαίας εἰς ἄριστον μετὰ Ἀντωνίνου	(δρ.) ρ	
	τυρίου	(δρ.) ρ	
	τουρτίων	(δρ.) σ	
225	λουκανικ(ῶν)	(δρ.) σ	
	καροιδίων καὶ σχαδ(ίων)	(δρ.) σ	
	ἀρμενικὸν	(δρ.) ρ	
	ᾠῶν	(δρ.) σ	
	Verso. Col. i		
	λαχάνων	(δρ.) ρ	
230	σικυδίων καὶ κολοκ(ύνθων)	(δρ.) ρ	
	ξύλων	(δρ.) ρ	
	ἐλαίου κιβαρ(ίου)	(δρ.) ψ	
	κεμοραφ(άνου) καὶ θυδρ(άκων)	(δρ.) ρ	
	γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας)	(δρ.) Γυ	
235	γ(ίν.) τῶν ἀπὸ ι″ ἕως ιε καὶ αὐτῆς [[ημ]]		
	ἡμερ(ῶν) ε ἀναλώμ(ατα)	(τάλ.) Β (δρ.) Βρ	
	ις		
	τιμ(ῆς) ψωμίων καθαρῶν	(δρ.) υ	
240	κιβαρ(ίων) τοῖς παιδίοις	(δρ.) χ	
	τυρίου	(δρ.) ρ	
	ταρίχου	(δρ.) ρ	
	ἐλαίας	(δρ.) ρ	
	σικυδίων καὶ κολοκύνθ(ων)	(δρ.) ρ	
245	λαχάνων	(δρ.) ρ	
	ξύλων	(δρ.) ρ	

οἴνου ἡμικαβίν(ου) (δρ.) ⫛
ᾠῶν (δρ.) ρ
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) ’Bχ

ιζ̄
τιμ(ῆς) ψωμί(ων) καθαρ(ῶν) (δρ.) υ
κιβαρ(ίων) τοῖς παιδίοις (δρ.) χ
ταρίχου (δρ.) ρ
τυρίου (δρ.) ρ
ξύλων (δρ.) ρ
μοριλ̣( ) (δρ.) σ
ἀψινθίου (δρ.) σ
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) ’Aψ

Col. ii

ιη̄
τιμ(ῆς) ψωμίων καθαρ(ῶν) (δρ.) σ
κιβαρίων τοῖς παιδίοι(ς) (δρ.) υ
κολοκυνθί(ων) εἰς ἕψησ(ιν) (δρ.) ρ
ξύλων (δρ.) ρ
ὀψαριδ(ίων) λί(τρ.) ᾱ (δρ.) τ
οἶνον κάβος α (δρ.) ’Aφ
κέμια καὶ θυδράκ(ων) (δρ.) ρ
σικυδίων (δρ.) ρ
χάρτου (δρ.) τ
ἀψινθίου (δρ.) σ
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) ’Γτ

ιθ̄
τιμ(ῆς) ψωμίων καθαρ(ῶν) (δρ.) σ
κιβαρίων τοῖς παιδ[ί]οις (δρ.) χ
τιμ(ῆς) κρέως λι(τρ.) ϛ (δρ.) ’Aω
τιμ(ῆς) ἐλαίας (δρ.) ρ
λαχάνων κολοκύνθ(ων) (δρ.) ρ
ξύλων (δρ.) ρ
ἐλαίου κιβαρείου (δρ.) ψ
ὄξος (δρ.) ρ
ἐλαίου εἰς σύνχρ(ησιν) Σιλβαν(οῦ) (δρ.) ρ
κεμοραφάνου ⟨καὶ⟩ ἀρμενίων (δρ.) ρ
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) ’ΓΤ

κ̄
τιμ(ῆς) ψωμίων καθαρ(ῶν) (δρ.) σ
κιβαρίων τοῖς παιδίοις (δρ.) χ
σαφωνίων (δρ.) ρ

Col. iii

ταρίχου εἰς ἄριστ(ον) μετὰ Ἀντωνίνου (δρ.) ρ
ἁρμενία καὶ δαμασκεν(ούς) (δρ.) σ
ξύλων (δρ.) ρ
λαχάνων καὶ [ ]λ̣αφυχ̣( ) (δρ.) ρ
ἁλίκιν Σιλβάνου (δρ.) ρ
ἁλὸς (δρ.) ρ
ᾠῶν (δρ.) σ
κολοκύνθ(ων) καὶ σικυδί(ων) (δρ.) ρ
κεμ⟨ορ⟩αφά(νου) καὶ θύδρακος (δρ.) ρ
μέλιτος εἰς τὸ ἁλίκιν (δρ.) ρ
[[τυρίο̣υ̣]] [[ ]]
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) ’Bρ
γ(ίν.) τῶν ἀπὸ ις̄ ἕως κ̄ καὶ αὐτῆς ἡμερ(ῶν) ε̄ ἀναλώ(μ)ατ(α) (τάλ.) β (δρ.) ’Aχ

κᾱ
τιμ(ῆς) ψωμί(ων) καθαρ(ῶν) (δρ.) σ
κιβαρ(ίων) τοῖς παιδίοις (δρ.) χ
ταρίχου ᾱ (δρ.) υ
ξύλων (δρ.) ρ
[[κολοκυνθί( ) εἰς ἕψησιν]] (λαχάνων) (δρ.) ρ
τιμ(ῆς) σολίου εἰς βαλ(ανεῖον) (δρ.) τ
σοὶ εἰς βαλανῖον μετὰ τῶν περὶ Ἀντωνῖνον (δρ.) σ
μισθ(οῦ) τῷ γναφ(εῖ) ὑ(πὲρ) φελονίου (δρ.) Ἀυ
ᾠῶν (δρ.) σ
ἀφόνιτρον (δρ.) ρ
κεμοραφ(άνου) (δρ.) ρ
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) ’Γψ

Col. iv

κβ̄
εἰ{ι}ς ἄριστον μετὰ Ἀντωνίν(ου) ⟨(δρ.) σ⟩
τιμ(ῆς) ψωμίων καθαρ(ῶν) ϛ (δρ.) χ
κιβαρίων τοῖς παιδίοις (δρ.) χ
τουρτίων δ̄ (δρ.) υ
λουκανικῶν (δρ.) σ
ᾠῶν εἰς ἄριστον (δρ.) υ
τυρίου (δρ.) σ

σικυδί[ων] (δρ.) ρ
κολοκύνθ(ων) εἰς ἕψη[σ]ι[ν] (δρ.) φ
ξύλων (δρ.) σ
ἐλαίας (δρ.) ρ
φοίνικ(ας) [κ]αὶ ἁρμενικὰ δ
[κ(αὶ) δαμασ]κεν(ούς) (δρ.) τ
οἴνου κά[βος] ᾱ (δρ.) Ἀψ
ἐλαίου κιβαρίου (δρ.) ψ
κεμίων καὶ θύδρακ(ος) (δρ.) ρ
σκόρδ(ου) α (δρ.) ρ
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) Ἐω

$\overline{κγ}$
τιμ(ῆς) ψωμίων καθαρ(ῶν) (δρ.) τ
κιβαρ(ίων) τοῖς παιδίοις (δρ.) χ
ᾠῶν (δρ.) σ
λαχάνου καὶ κολοκύνθ(ων) (δρ.) ρ
ἐλαίας (δρ.) ρ
ξύλων (δρ.) ρ
κεμοραφάνου (δρ.) ρ
κρέως λι(τρ.) γ̄ (δρ.) Ϥ
τῷ γναφ(εῖ) ὑ(πὲρ) φ[ελο]ν[ί]ου (δρ.) ω
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) Γσ

Col. v

$\overline{κδ}$
τῷ ὑπήτῃ ὑ(πὲρ) μισθ(οῦ) στιχαρ(ίων) β̄ (δρ.) υ
τιμ(ῆς) νίτρου (δρ.) σ
τιμ(ῆς) ψωμίων καθαρ(ῶν) γ̄ (δρ.) τ
κιβ[α]ρείων τοῖς παιδί[ο]ις (δρ.) χ
λαχάνων καὶ κολοκύνθ(ων) (δρ.) ρ
ξύλων (δρ.) ρ
ἐ[λαίο]υ χρηστοῦ ξ(έστου) α (δρ.) Ἀ
[ὄ]ξ̣ος ξ(εστ.) β (δρ.) σ
ᾠῶν (δρ.) σ
κ[ε]μίων καὶ σικυδίων (δρ.) ρ
ε̣ἰ̣[ς ἄρ]ι̣σ[τ]ον μετὰ Ἀντωνίνου (δρ.) σ̣
γ(ίν.) [τῆς ἡμέ]ρ̣(ας) (δρ.) Γχ

$\overline{κε}$
τιμ(ῆς) καθαρ(ῶν) ψωμ(ίων) (δρ.) υ
κιβαρ(ίων) τοῖς παιδίοις (δρ.) χ
λαχάνων καὶ κολοκύνθ(ων) (δρ.) ρ
ξύλων (δρ.) ρ
ᾠῶν (δρ.) σ
σαφωνίων (δρ.) ρ
κονδίτου (δρ.) ρ
ἐλαίας εἰς ἄριστ(ον) τοῖς παιδίοις (δρ.) ρ
κιν̣α̣ρ̣ῶν καὶ σικυδ(ίων) καὶ θ̣υ̣δ̣ρ̣άκ(ων) (δρ.) ρ
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) Ἀω
γ(ίν.) τ̣ῳ̣ν̣ ἀπὸ κ̄ ἕως $\overline{κε}$ καὶ αὐτ(ῆς) ἡμερ(ῶν) ε ἀναλώματ(α) (ταλ.) γ (δρ.) ρ

$\overline{κ\varsigma}$
τιμ(ῆς) ψωμίων καθαρῶν (δρ.) σ
κιβαρ(ίων) τοῖς παιδίοις (δρ.) υ
ἐλαίου κιβαρίου (δρ.) ψ

Col. vi

τ̣ι̣μ̣(ῆς) κιβ̣α̣ρ̣ίω̣ν̣ (δρ.) σ
λαχάνων καὶ κολοκύνθ(ων) (δρ.) ρ
ξύλων (δρ.) ρ
ᾠῶν (δρ.) σ
οἴνου εἰς ἄρ[ισ]τ̣(ον) ξ(έστ.) α (δρ.) σ
σ̣[οὶ] ε̣ἰ̣[ς] χεῖρ̣[α] (δρ.) ρ
τ̣[ιμ(ῆς)] ἐ̣λαίο[υ] (δρ.) υ̣
κρ̣έ̣ως εἰς ἁλίσαι λι(τρ.) η (δρ.) [Βδ]
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) Δψ

$[\overline{κζ}]$
[τι]μ̣(ῆς) [ψω]μ̣ίων καθαρ(ῶν) [
[κιβ]αρίων τοῖς παιδίοις [
[. . . . .]ρου [
ε̣ἰ̣ς̣ βαλανῖον μετὰ Ἀντωνίνου [
τούρτιον ᾱ [
ἐλαίας [
ξύλων δ(ιὰ) Ἑρμοῦ [
οἴνου εἰς ἄριστ(ον) μετὰ Ἀντωνίνου ξ(εστ.) β [
[. . . . .]υρ( ) [
[. . .]χ . υρ( )
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) Βτ

$\overline{κη}$
τιμ(ῆς) ψωμίων καθαρ(ῶν) (δρ.) [σ]
κιβαρ(ίων) τοῖς παιδίοις (δρ.) χ

λαχάνων (δρ.) ρ̣
ξύλων (δρ.) ρ̣
405 ἐλαίας [(δρ.) ρ]
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) [(δρ.) Ἀρ]

Col. vii

κθ̄
τ̣[ιμ(ῆς)] ψ[ω]μ̣ί̣(ων) καθαρ(ῶν) (δρ.) σ
[κιβ]α̣ρ̣(ίων) τ̣[οῖς παιδίο]ις (δρ.) υ̣
410 τι[μ(ῆς) νε . [. .] . . [(δρ.)] τ
ἁλίκιν (δρ.) ρ
[μ]ἐ̣λιτος [
[ξ]ύλων (δρ.) σ
[. . .]χρ̣ . ( ) (δρ.) ρ̣
415 [ ] (δρ.) σ
[ ] (δρ.) σ
[.]α̣λ̣[ ] (δρ.) ρ
[ξύ]λ̣ων δ̣ι̣(ὰ) [Ἐ]ρμοῦ (δρ.) σ
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) Βφ

420 [λ̄]
[τιμ(ῆς) ψω]μ̣ίων καθαρ(ῶν) (δρ.) σ
[κιβαρ(ίων το]ῖς παιδ[ί]ο̣ις (δρ.) υ
[ ] (δρ.) σ
[. . .] . ἐ̣βου. (δρ.) σ
425 ἁ̣λ̣ακι̣ο̣ν (δρ.) ψ
λαχάνων (δρ.) ρ
τ̣(οῖς) . η . . ( ) ὑ̣(πὲρ) εὐσεβ[εί]ας (ταλ.) α
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (τάλ.) α (δρ.) Ἠω
γ̣(ίν.) [τῶ]ν̣ ἀπ[ὸ κ]ς̄ ἕως λ̄ καὶ αὐτῆς
430 ἡμερ(ῶν) ε̄ [ἀν]α̣λ̣ώμ(α)τ(α) (τάλ.) γ (δρ.) υ
γ(ίν.) τοῦ μη[νὸ]ς ἀναλώμ(α)τ(α) (τάλ.) [ι]η
[(δρ.)] Ἀ̣[υ]
κ̣αι̣ ε̣[. . .] . . [. .]νι̣ε̣[.]ς̣ ε̣ἰ̣ς̣ τ̣(ὴν) [ὁ]δὸ(ν)
. . ρ . [. .] . . .
γ̣(ίν.) [τ]ο̣ῦ̣ λ̣ό̣γ̣(ου) . [. .]ο̣υ̣ μ̣ηνος
435 . . [.] . . (τάλ.) μ̣α (δρ.) Δ

3. ϊατρου 44. l. ἁλίσαι 134. l. κρομμύδιν 184. l. ἁλίσαι 290. l. δαμασκην(ά)

3. In this entry τιλτρου was originally read in error for ϊατρου and has found its way into LSJ., s.v.

5. γύριος, *fine meal*, occurs in PSI. IV. 428.

10. The 'pure white bread' (for similar uses of καθαρός see Collart's note in *Aegyptus*, XIV. 496) is in contrast with the *panis cibarius* of the slaves (cf. **627**, 71 note).

19. For the supplement cf. l. 32. The word, a diminutive from κάρυον (for the form see Sophocles, *Lexicon*, which gives κάροιον as an incorrect form of κάρυον), has not been recorded before.

26. τούρτα = ἐγκρυφίας ἄρτος, i.e. a loaf baked in the ashes, is cited in Sophocles (but not in LSJ.) from Erotian; the diminutive has occurred nowhere before. Both derive from the Latin *torta*.

32. σχαδ(ίων) = ἰσχαδίων, *figs*.

44. Meat would naturally be salted as soon as bought at this time of year.

63. κόλλημα, a sheet of blank papyrus as distinct from a blank roll (χαρτής); the rolls consisted of four (ll. 121, 157) or three (l. 268) sheets.

85. To the left and right of the entries for the sixth day brackets have been drawn; they are, however, included in the weekly and final reckonings and so may have been merely marked off as requiring special attention.

88. βορίδιον, *addendum lexicis*: perhaps a diminutive from βορά, meaning *scraps of food*, or else the name of some kind of fish.

91. In l. 247 ημικαβιν, followed by a mark of abbreviation which therefore demands a form ἡμικαβίνος, can be clearly read, but in this line the letter after ι cannot be a ν. Neither this nor ἡμικάβιον is recorded in the dictionaries and both should clearly be connected with the Palestinian measure κάβος (see Hultsch, *Metrologie*, p. 416, and LSJ., s.v.); for καβόνιον as a measure see LSJ., addenda. The κάβος was equivalent to four *sextarii*; it was not employed in Egypt, but is found naturally enough here.

101. Used for ἀφρόνιτρον here and elsewhere in this account; it would be used for soap as νίτρον was, or perhaps as a water-softener.

135. There is a mistake in the addition, as is not infrequent; the total should be 3,800, not 3,600.

159. ἀρμένιον and ἀρμενικόν (e.g. ll. 227, 329) appear to be used indifferently in this account; both should be equated with ἀρμενιακόν, *apricot* (cf. l. 290, where they are mentioned together with damsons).

174. Perhaps an error for *κνήκων, safflower*; the word is unlikely to be connected with *κανθός, pan, pot*, in view of the price.

186. *ἡμίκαβος, addendum lexicis* (cf. l. 91 note).

195. No such name is known to the papyri; it is probably Latin in origin.

214. This diminutive from *σταφυλῖνος, carrot*, is new to the dictionaries.

233. *θυδρ(άκων)*: a variant of *θρίδαξ, lettuce*, which appears in P. Oxy. 1212, 5 as *θρύδαξ*, while *θίδραξ* is known from Hesychius.

256. *μόριλ(ον)*—or perhaps *μόριλλ(ον)* should be read, as the stroke across the λ may indicate another λ and not a stroke of abbreviation—presumably a diminutive, hitherto unrecorded, of *μόρον, mulberry*.

266. *κέμια*: probably not a form of *καίμιον* (cf. note on **627**, 192) but some kind of vegetable.

280. The resolution in this line is far from certain. An alternative would be *σύνχρ(ισμα)*. In either case the abbreviation is unexpected.

290. For Damascus plums cf. Petronius 31. 11: Ath. II. 49d–50b, and on fruit-production in Syria generally F. M. Heichelheim in *Economic History of the Roman Empire*, vol. IV (*Syria*), pp. 134–6, 204.

293. *ἁλίκιον*: *addendum lexicis*; perhaps a translation of the Latin *salarium*, although this does not suit so well l. 298, where we should have to translate *for wages*, i.e. as wages in kind; and *σαλάριον* is common enough in the papyri. Alternatively, it may be connected with *ἅλιξ, groats of rice wheat*; this would suit l. 298 better, but would demand a dative rather than a genitive here.

309. Probably a transliteration of *solium, stool*, rather than of *solia*.

348. i.e. probably = *ἠπήτῃ* rather than *ἐπέτῃ* (cf. **627**, 146) or *ὑπ⟨ηρ⟩έτῃ*.

365. i.e. *conditum* sc. *οἴνου*, but it must have been nasty at this price.

432 f. These final lines of the account are so rubbed as to be barely legible; they may even have been expunged. It is, however, almost certain that the next month's account was not begun.

630–8. TRAVEL ACCOUNTS III: ANTIOCH AND THE RETURN JOURNEY

For this period of Theophanes' travels, covering the last fortnight in Antioch, which he left on *c.* Epeiph 26, and his return journey until Mesore 23, when he is once again in Upper Egypt, there is a somewhat bewildering variety of evidence. For part of this time we possess the fair copy of his accounts in a small, blurred, occasionally difficult hand; for part we have the rough draft; for part we have both, sometimes supplementing, sometimes overlapping, occasionally disagreeing with each other. As far as possible a continuous text in chronological order has been given below with the fair copy as the basis; the text is thus sometimes composite when half a line survives in draft and the other half in fair copy. Disagreements are recorded in the notes except when they are of no consequence, as e.g. in the addition or omission of *τιμῆς*, and the sources for any given part of the text will be found in the right-hand margin. The sources are as follows:

Fair Copy

630: a small fragment, 4·5×21·1 cm.
631: 71×25 cm.
632: 8·3×24·6 cm.; this may have originally belonged to the same roll as **631**.
633: 38×25 cm. (verso blank).
634: 3·6×9·6 cm.; this scrap may belong to **631**. Only one entry is even nearly complete (l. 12 [*σα*]*φωνίων* (*δρ.*) *ρ*) and none of the others contains anything out of the usual.

Draft

635: 38·5×25·6 cm., written on the verso of **617**.
636: 22×47 cm., on the verso of **621**.
637: two fragments, 33·5×23 and 25·5×23·2, containing a very rough and fragmentary draft on the verso of **616**.
638: 16·5×20·7 cm., a sketch of Theophanes' homeward itinerary on the verso of **628**.

630*[1]

[. . . .]υτη [. . . .] . [**630,** col. i
[ψωμί]ῳν κα[θαρῶν] β [
[κιβαρίο]υ τοῖς παιδί(οις) [
[τιμ]ῆς ἡμίκαβος [οἴνου]
[εἰς] ἄριστ(ον) με[τὰ]
[. . .] καὶ [λ]αχ[άνων
[. . .]ρων κα]ὶ
[ᾠ̈ω]ν
[στ]αφ(υλίων) καὶ θυδρ[άκων
[. . .] (δρ.) σ
[γ(ίν.) τῆ[ς ἡ]μέρ(ας) (δρ.) Γφ
[ι]
[ψωμί]ων καθαρῶν β̄ (δρ.) σ
[κιβαρ](ίου) τοῖς παιδίοις (δρ.) χ
(Traces, mostly figures, of 10 more lines)
. . . . . .
Ἐπεὶφ ῑα̅
τιμ(ῆς) ψωμίων κ[αθαρ(ῶν) γ (δρ.)] τ **635,** col. i
κιβαρίου τοῖς παι[δίοις (δρ.)] υ
λαχάνων καὶ σικ̣[υδίων (δρ.)] ρ
ξύλων [(δρ.)] .
ἐλ[αί]ο̣υ̣ [ ]
πεπόνιον [ ]
κολοκύνθ(ων) καὶ κεμίω[ν]
ἀφονίτρου [ ]
γ(ίν.) (δρ.) Ἀτ
ῑβ̅
τιμ(ῆς) ψωμίων καθαρ(ῶν) [(δρ.)] ψ̣
κιβαρ(ίου) τοῖς παιδίοις [(δρ.)] υ
σοὶ εἰς χεῖρ(α) ὑ(πὲρ) συμβολ(ῆς) (δρ.) Βρ
τοῖς ἑπέταις (δρ.) χ
τιμ(ῆς) κρέως λι(τρῶν) ε ἐ̣ς̣ ἁλίσε (δρ.) Β
Ἑρμῆτι ὡς ἀπό σου τῆς
συμβολῆς (δρ.) Ἀψ
ξύλων (δρ.) ρ
λαχάνων (δρ.) ρ
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (τάλ.) α (δρ.) Ἀχ
ῑγ̄ τιμ(ῆς) οἴνου κάβος α (δρ.) Ἀψ **+630,** col. ii
τιμ(ῆς) ψωμίων καθαρ(ῶν) γ (δρ.) τ

[1] Since for reasons explained above **630–7** are treated as a single unit and given a continuous line numeration, we have assigned them for purposes of indexing a single number, **630***; a glance at the right margin will always show in which of the eight texts a given word occurs.

κιβαρ(ίου) τοῖς παιδίοις (δρ.) υ
ἐλαίου κιβαρίου (δρ.) ψ
εἰς βαλανεῖον (δρ.) ρ
λαχάνων καὶ σικυδίων (δρ.) ρ
ἐλαίου καὶ κολοκύνθ(ων) (δρ.) ρ
ξύλων (δρ.) ρ
ᾠῶν (δρ.) σ
ἀφόνιτρον καὶ κεμίων (δρ.) ρ **635** only
[. . .] . [. . . .]ϙ( ) [

β[. . . .] . λων [**635,** col. ii
τῷ [Ὀ]ξ[υ]ρυγχίτῃ (δρ.) .
[γ(ίν.)] τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (τάλ.) α (δρ.) Γυ
ιδ̄ +**630.** col. ii
[τι]μ(ῆς) ψωμίων καθαρ(ῶν) γ (δρ.) τ
κιβαρίου (δρ.) υ
ξύλων (δρ.) σ
πεπόνιν (δρ.) ρ
ἐλαίας καὶ λ[αχάνων] (δρ.) ρ
ταρίχου (δρ.) ρ
σοὶ ὑ(πὲρ) συμβολῆς (δρ.) ΑΤ
[τι]μ(ῆς) ἀψινθίου (δρ.) σ
[Ἑρ]μῇ[[τι]] ὡς ἀπὸ σοῦ **635** only
τῆς (αὐτῆς) συμβολῆς (δρ.) Α
[κο]λοκυνθίων (δρ.) ρ +**631,** col. i
[ξ]ύλων (δρ.) ρ
[γ(ίν.)] τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) Δφ
ιε̄
τιμ(ῆς) ψωμίων κιβαρ(ίων) (δρ.) χ
σοὶ εἰς χεῖρ(α) ὑ(πὲρ) συμβολ(ῆς) (δρ.) Βυ
ξύλων (δρ.) ρ **635** only
κορόσπερμον (δρ.) ρ
κνήθων (δρ.) ρ
κεμίων καὶ σικυδ(ίων) (δρ.) ρ
γάρος (δρ.) ρ
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) Γφ
γ(ίν.) τῶν ἀπὸ ιᾱ ἕως ιε̄ καὶ αὐτ(ῆς)
ἡμερ(ῶν) ε̄ ἀναλώματ(α) (τάλ.) δ (δρ.) Βω
[3 lines missing] **635**, col. iii
[κιβαρ(ίου) τοῖ]ς παιδίοις (δρ.) [
[ ] (δρ.) σ
[ἀψιν]θίου (δρ.) σ
[ξύλω]ν (δρ.) ρ

	[ἀρμενια]κ̣ῶ̣ν καὶ θυδράκ(ων) καὶ		
	δαμασκηνοὶ	(δρ.) ρ	
	γ[ά]ρος	(δρ.) ρ	
	γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας)	(δρ.) Ἀφ	
	ιζ̄		
	[τιμ(ῆς)] ψωμίου καθαρ(οῦ)	(δρ.) σ	
	[κιβα]ρ(ίου) τοῖς παιδίοις	(δρ.) χ	
	[πεπ]όνιν	(δρ.) ρ	
	[κρέω]ς λι(τρῶν) ξ̄ εἰς ἁλίσε	(δρ.) Βω	
	[ᾠ̈ω]ν	(δρ.) ρ	
	[ξ]ύλων	(δρ.) ρ	
	[κο]λοκυνθίων	(δρ.) ρ	
	[οἴ]νου κάβος ᾱ	(δρ.) Ἀω	+**631,** col. ii
	[γ]άρος	(δρ.) ρ	
	[τῷ] στρατιώτῃ ὑ(πὲρ) χάρτ(ου)	(δρ.) ψ	
	[ὄ]ξος	(δρ.) ρ	
	[. . . .]ων καὶ σικυδ(ίων) εἰς ἄριστ(ον)	(δρ.) ρ	
	γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (τάλ.) α	(δρ.) ω	
	ιη̄		
	[τιμ(ῆς) ψω]μίων καθαρ(ῶν) β	(δρ.) σ	
	κ[ιβ]αρ(ίων) τοῖς παιδίοις	(δρ.) υ	
	[στα]φύλια	(δρ.) ρ	
	[ξύλ]ων	(δρ.) ρ	**631** only
	ν[. . .]ον	(δρ.) ρ	
	α[. . .]τιμ( ) . [. . . : μετ]ὰ		
	Ἐ[ρμο]δ(ώρου) . [. . . . .]	(δρ.) ἀ	
	ο[ἴνου κ]ιβα(ρίου) ξ(έστου) ᾱ	(δρ.) ψ	+**635** col. iv
	ᾠ̈[ω]ν	(δρ.) σ	
	τα[ρί]χων καὶ κεμίων	(δρ.) (ρ)	
	ψω[μί]ων καθαρ(ῶν) εἰς δῖπνον	(δρ.) ρ	
	γά[ρ]ος	(δρ.) ρ	
	ᾠ̈ων	(δρ.) ρ	
	[(γίν.) τῆς ἡμ]έρ(ας)	(δρ.) Γσ	
	ιθ̄		
	τιμ(ῆς) ψωμ[ίων καθ]αρ(ῶν) β′	(δρ.) σ	
	κιβ[α]ρ(ίου) τοῖς παιδίοις	(δρ.) χ	
	σταφύλια	(δρ.) ρ	
	σῦ[κ]α	(δρ.) ρ	
	τυρ[ίο]υ εἰς ἄριστ(ον)	(δρ.) ρ	
	ε[. . . . .] καὶ κρομυδ(ίων) καὶ		
	[λεπτ]ολαχάνων	(δρ.) ρ	
	λα[χάνω]ν καὶ σικυδ(ίων)	(δρ.) ρ	
	ξύλων	(δρ.) ρ	

	ὦων	(δρ.) σ	
	γάρος	(δρ.) ρ	
	κεμίων	(δρ.) ν	
	γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας)	(δρ.) Ἀψν	
125	$\overline{κ}$		
	τιμ(ῆς) ψωμίων καθαρ(ῶν)	(δρ.) σ	
	κιβαρ(ίου) τοῖς παιδίοις	(δρ.) χ	
	ὦων εἰς ἄριστον καὶ εἰς δῖπ(νον)	(δρ.) υ	
	[στα]φύλια	(δρ.) ρ	
130	ε[. . .]χων	(δρ.) ρ	**631,** col. iii
	ἐ[λαί]ας καὶ σικυδ(ίων) καὶ λεπτο-λαχάνων	(δρ.) ρ	
	πεπ[ό]νιν	(δρ.) ρ	
	κολυ[κ]υνθ(ίων)	(δρ.) ρ	
135	ξύλων	(δρ.) ρ	
	γάρος	(δρ.) ρ	+**635,** col. v
	ὄ[ξ]ος	(δρ.) ρ.	
	κε[μ]ίων καὶ θυ[δ]ράκων	(δρ.) ρ	
	ἀψ[ι]νθίου	(δρ.) σ	
140	οἰν[ο]υ καὶ καρ[οιδίων]	(δρ.) Τ	
	γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας)	(δρ.) Γσ	
	γ(ίν.) τῶν ἀπὸ $\overline{ιε}$ ἕως $\overline{κ}$ καὶ αὐτῆς ἡμ[ερ(ῶν)] $\bar{ε}$ (ταλ.) β	(δρ.) Ἀυν	
	$\overline{κα}$		**631** only
145	[ψωμίων] καθαρ(ῶν)	(δρ.) [	
	[. . . . . .] καὶ ἐλ[αίου]		
	κ[ιβα]ρ(ίου) τοῖς π[αιδίοις]		
	τ[ουρ]τίου [		
	π[ε]πόν[ιν		
150	τ[α]ρίχου [		
	ξ[ύλ]ων [		
	λ[α]χ[άνων κ[αὶ		
	ὦ[ω]ν [		
	γά[ρ]ος [		
155	ἐλ[α]ίου χρη[σ]τ(οῦ) [		
	[γ(ίν.) τ]ῆς ἡμέρ(ας)	(δρ.) [	
	[$\overline{κβ}$]		
	[ψωμίω]ν καθαρ(ῶν) $\bar{β}$ [		
	[κιβαρ(ίου)] τ[ο]ῖ[ς παι]δίοις [		
160	[. . . . . κα]ὶ σύκῶ[ν		
	ἐλ[αίου κι]βαρίου [		
	ξ[ύλ]ων [		
	ὦ[ων] [		

631, col. iv

σ[ικυδίων] καὶ λαχάνω[ν
[. . . . . .] ν
[. . . . . .] .
[
οἴν[ου] (δρ.) [
Ἑρμῇ κ[ ] (δρ.) τ
μ[. .]ε . [. . . . . λε]πτο-
λαχ[άνων] (δρ.) ρ
κεμ[ίων] (κρ.) [
[
[γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.)]ν
κγ
ψωμ[ίων καθαρ(ῶν)] (δρ.) σ
κι[βαρ(ίου) τοῖς παιδίοις] (δρ.) υ
λαχ[άν(ων) καὶ κολο]κυνθ(ίων) (δρ.) ρ
ξύ[λων] (δρ.) ρ
γάρο[ς] (δρ.) ρ
ἠ[πήτῃ(?)] (δρ.) χ
. [ ]
[(δρ.)] σ
κ . [(δρ.)] ν
γ(ίν.) [τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.)]
κδ
ψω[μίων καθαρ(ῶν)]
κ[ιβαρ(ίου) τοῖς παιδίοις .]
στα[φύλια .]
κολ[οκυνθ(ίων)
ξύλων [
[ᾠ]ων [
[γάρ]ος [
[ἀ]φονί[τρου
ψωμίων κ[αθαρ(ῶν)
κα[. . .]ου ἡ[μῖν
[το(ῖς)] παιδ[ίοις . . . . . .] . [(δρ.)] σ **631,** col. v
[ ] (δρ.) [ ]
[ ] (δρ.) ρ
[ ]
[ ]
κε
ψωμί[ων] κ[αθ]αρ(ῶν) [**+636,** col. i
κιβαρ(ίου) [τοῖς παι]δ[ίοι]ς [
κρέω[ς . . . .]αι(ου) λι(τρ.) γ (δρ.) Ἀσ
σταφ[ύλια καὶ ἀρμε]νιακὰ (δρ.) ρ

῾Ωρῳ [κα]ὶ Θέωνι (δρ.) Ἀφ
τῷ ὀξυγ[ράφ]ῳ ὑ̣(πὲρ) σ̣υ̣μ̣β̣ο̣λ̣(ῆς) (δρ.) Γ
τιμ(ῆς) χάρτου [ ] (δρ.) σ
κυβαρί[ου] (δρ.) σ
λαχάνω[ν] (δρ.) ρ
ἐλαίου [χρηστο]ῦ (δρ.) υ
γάρος . [ ] (δρ.) [ ]
μέλιτ[ος] (δρ.) [ ]
ἀφον[ίτρου
εἰς βαλ[α]ν̣ι̣̂ο̣ν [
κεμίων κ[αὶ] σ̣ικυ̣[δίων
ξύλων [
οἴνου [ἀ]γγ[ία (δρ.)] χ +**636,** col. ii
ψωμίων [εἰς τὴν]
ὁδὸν̣ [
ἄλλ(ων) στ[
τ̣ῇ̣ χήρᾳ̣ τ[
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) [
γ(ίν.) τῶν ἀπὸ {ι} κ[α ἕως κε]
κ̣[αὶ αὐτ(ῆς) ἡμερ(ῶν) ε
(τάλ.) ε (δρ.) [
κ̣ς̣ **631,** col. vi
[σοὶ] ὑ̣(πὲρ) σ[υμβολ(ῆς)]
[λ]ευκα̣[νικῶν]
εν [. .]ηρ( ) ε̣χ̣]
[. . .]π̣ . [
ἄ̣λ̣λ(ων) επ[
ἄλλ(ων) δ ισ̣[
ο̣ἴνου εἰ̣ς [
μήλων̣ [
ἐν Κατὰ ῾Υ[δατα
τιμ(ῆς) οἴν[ου εἰς με-]
τὰ Εὐλογί[ου]
ἡμῖν εἰς δ[ῖπνον]
εἰς βαλα̣[νῖον
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) [
κ̣ζ̣
ἐν τῷ Σκ̣[
σοὶ εἰς ἄριστ[ον
ἐν Λαυδικ[ίᾳ
ἐλαίου κ[ιβαρ(ίου)
ἀφονίτρο[υ
[Θ]έωνι ὀφ(φικιαλίῳ) εἰ̣[ς

[κ]ρομυδί(ων) [
[. .] . τη προ . [
[ψωμίω]ν καθα̣[ρ(ῶν)
[. . . .] ( ) αὐτ[ ] (δρ.) [**+636,** col. iii
[. .]του [ ] (δρ.) [
[σύ]κων [ ] (δρ.) [
[ἐλαί]ου χρηστ(οῦ) ξ(έστ.) [
[. . . .]ρνια
[κολοκυνθ](ίων) καὶ καροιδ(ίων) καὶ [ ]
[. . . . . .] . ιον τῷ ἀδε[ ] (δρ.) υ
[οἴνου] ὑμῖν εἰς δῖπ(νον) (δρ.) σ
[τοῖς] παιδίοις εἰς πῖν (δρ.) τ
[γ(ίν.) τ]ῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) ʾB . [[. .]]
κη̄ **631,** col. vii
[ψωμίων] καθαρ(ῶν) εἰ[ς δῖπν(ον)] (δρ.) σ **636** only
[κρέως] λι(τρ.) β (δρ.) ω
[οἴνου κ]ιβαρ(ίου) τοῖς παι[δίοις (δρ.)] χ
[οἴνου εἰ]ς ἄριστ(ον) ξ(έστ.) ᾱ [(δρ.)] υ
[ψω]μίων εἰς δῖπ[νον (δρ.)] ρ
[. . . . . .] εἰς ἄριστ(ον) (δρ.) ρ
[. . . . . .]μια [(δρ.)] σ
[(δρ.)] ρ
σ[ ] (δρ.) σ
ξύ[λων . . . . .]ν παρ(ὰ) τῶν α(ὐτῶν) (δρ.) [
οἴ[νου εἰς] δῖπνον μετὰ Θέ[ωνος καὶ]
[τῶν πε]ρὶ Ἑρμόδωρον (δρ.) σ
γ(ίν.) [τ(ῆς) ἡμέ]ρ(ας) (δρ.) ʾΔτ
. . . . . .

(Approximately 19 lines missing)

[εἰς] πῖν (δρ.) υ
[ ]νου (δρ.) σ
χ [ ] (δρ.) ρ
β [ ] (δρ.) υ
π[επόνιν] (δρ.) ρ
[. . . .]≠ (δρ.) ʾA **+631,** col. viii
[. . . . .]ενφ[
[τιμ(ῆς)] ψωμί[ων] (δρ.) υ
κι[βα]ρ(ίου) τοῖς [παι]δίοις [
[σ]ταφυλ(ίων) καὶ σικυδ(ίων) [(δρ.)] ρ
ξ[ύ]λων [(δρ.)] ρ
ᾠ̈ων (δρ.) τ
οἴνου εἰς ἄριστ(όν) σοι (δρ.) σ
[ψωμί]ων καθαρ(ῶν) β̄ εἰς δῖπ[νον] **+636,** col. vi

[μετὰ] Θέωνος καὶ Ἑρμοδ[ώρου]
[κο]λ̣οκυνθ(ίων) καὶ σικυδ(ίων) [ ]
[ἐ]ν̣ τῷ̣ ταβερνίῳ ἀπὸ βα[λα-]
νίου μετὰ τῶν περὶ Ἑρ[μό-]
δωρον [ ]
[τι]μ(ῆς) οἴ̣νου ξ(έστ.) α [ ]
[. .] . α [. . . .]ν̣ ε̄ [ ]
[εἰ]ς̣ τ̣ὸ̣ πῖν μετὰ τ̣[ῶν περὶ Ἑρμό-]
[δωρο]ν
[. . . .]λ̣ . [. .]ν̣ [ ]
[. . . .] [ ]
[. . . .] . ι . [. . . .] δω [ ]
[. . .] ορ . [. .]χιων β̄ [ ]
[γ(ίν.)] τῆς ἡ̣[μέρ(ας) (τάλ.)] α
[γ(ίν.)] τῶν ἀ̣πὸ κ̄[ς̄] ἕως λ̄ καὶ
αὐτῆς ἡμερ(ῶν) ε̣ [ἀν]αλώ(ματα)
γ(ίν.) (τάλ.) δ (δρ.) ’Δσ
(Some lines probably missing)
[ἀναλώμα]τα μηνὶ[ὸς]
[. . . . . .] ἀναλωμ̣ [
Μεσορὴ ᾱ **632**
ἐν Θεουπροσώπῳ
τιμ(ῆς) οἴνου εἰς̣ π̣ῖν ἡμῖν . [
κρέως κοπαδίων δ (δρ.) [
ἐν Βίβλῳ **+636,** col. v
ψωμίων καθαρ(ῶν) γ̄ [
κιβαρ(ίων) τοῖς παιδίοις (δρ.) φ
σταφυλίων (δρ.) ρ
. . . α̣ν̣ο̣(υ) (δρ.) ρ
κολοκύνθ(ων) (δρ.) ρ
οἴ̣ν̣ο̣υ̣ εἰς ἄριστ(όν) σοι [**632** only
ἐλαίου κιβαρ(ίου) [
κ̣ . . τεφιων ὀνυχ[ίων
κ̣(αὶ) [κ]εφαλῆς (δρ.) . [
[. . .] . [.] εις . ο [
ξύ[λων **+636,** col. v
κ̣ε̣μ̣[ίων
οἴ̣ν̣[ου εἰς] δῖπ[νον] (δρ.) ψ
ἐπέτ[αις εἰ]ς̣ βαλανῖο(ν) (δρ.) σ
[. . . . . .] . ( ) [
χίονος ὕδωρ (δρ.) ρ
ἐξατιλίων (δρ.) υ
απ̣ . [.] τ̣ὴν̣ ἔμβασιν πρε( ) [

γ(ίν.) τ̣ῆ̣ς ἡ̣μέρ(ας) (τάλ.) α (δρ.) ρ

β̄

ψωμίων καθαρῶν γ̄ [**632** only

κιβ[α]ρ(ίων) τοῖς παιδ(ίοις) [

κολοκύνθων [

σταφυλίων [

σύκων [

σαφωνίων [

δωρίκια καὶ ἀρμ̣[ενιακὰ

ἐλαίου εἰς βαλανῖ(ον) (δρ.) [

ἀφόνιτρον (δρ.) [

ἐξατιλίων (δρ.) [

ξύλων (δρ.) ρ

γ(ίν.) [τῆς ἡ̣]μέρ(ας) (δρ.) ϗΒγ

γ̄ **633,** col. i

ἐν Σιδονίῳ

ψωμίων κιβαρ(ίων) τοῖς παιδ(ίοις) (δρ.) χ

σταφυλίων (δρ.) ρ

ὄξος (δρ.) σ

κυμίνου (δρ.) ρ

ξύλων (δρ.) σ

λαχάνων (δρ.) ρ

ἐλαίου κιβ[α]ρ(ίου) (δρ.) υ

ἀφονίτρου (δρ.) ρ

εἰς βαλ̣α̣ν̣[εῖον] (δρ.) τ

σοὶ (δρ.) υ

κεμίων (δρ.) ρ

ᾠ̈ων (δρ.) σ

ἐξατιλ[ίων] (δρ.) υ

γ(ίν.) [τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.)] ϗΓσ

. . . . . .

(Gap of approximately 10 lines)

. . . . . .

[. . .] . [

[. .]τ̣ουρω τ̣η̣[. . . .]ρ̣[

[κ]α̣ὶ ἐξατιλίων (δρ.) ϗΑ

γ̣(ίν.) [τῆ]ς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) ϗΓψ

[. . . .]ς ἐμοὶ ἰδί(ως)

[. . . .]λ̣( ) (δρ.) ρ

[. . . . .] . (δρ.) ρ

[πεπόν]ιν (δρ.) ρ

[. . . . .]ων (δρ.) ρ

[. . . . .]λ̣ανίου (δρ.) τ
[ἐν τ]ῷ̣ ταβερνίῳ
μετὰ τῶν περὶ Εὐλόγι(ον) (δρ.) τ
ἀφονίτρ(ου) (δρ.) ρ **633,** col. ii
κεμίων (δρ.) ρ
ἐξατιλίων (δρ.) υ
ξύλων (δρ.) ρ
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) ’Γψ
γ(ίν.) [τῶν] ἀπὸ ᾱ ἕως ϵ
[καὶ αὐτῆ]ς ἡμερ(ῶν) ϵ
(τάλ.) γ (δρ.) ’Βυ

$\bar{\varsigma}$ [ἐν Ἀλλ]αγῇ
[τιμ(ῆς)] οἴνου εἰς ἄριστ(ον) (δρ.) τ
α̣[. . .] . ( ) βατέλλ(ης) (δρ.) τ̣
ἐν Κεσ[αρί]α̣
ἐλ̣[αίου κιβ]α̣ρ̣(ίου) (δρ.) υ
[ ] . (δρ.) [ ]
[ ] . (δρ.) [ ]
[ ] (δρ.) [.]
[ ]
[ ] (δρ.) ρ
[ ] . . (δρ.) ρ
[ἐν τ]ῷ̣ ταβερνίῳ με-
[τὰ Δίω]νος καὶ Ἑρμοδώρ(ου) (δρ.) .
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡ̣[μέρ(ας)] (δρ.) ’Δ +**637**
$\bar{\zeta}$ ἐν τῇ̣ α̣λ̣[λ]αγ[ῇ] Βητάρο̣υ
ψωμίων κ[αθαρῶν] εἰς ἄριστ(ον) με-
τὰ τῶν περὶ Ἑρμόδωρον (δρ.) τ̣
κιβαρ(ίων) τοῖς παιδί̣ο̣ις (δρ.) ω
κρέως λ̣ι̣(τρ̣.) ϛ (δρ.) Ἀσ
ἐν Ἀντιπατρίς
ψωμίων καθαρῶν $\bar{\gamma}$ εἰς δῖπν(ον) (δρ.) τ
φαβᾶτο̣ν τοῖς παιδίοις (δρ.) σ
γ(ιν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) ’Βω
$\bar{\eta}$ εἰς Ἀβέλλα
ἀψινθίου (δρ.) σ
ψωμίου ἡμῖν εἰς ἄριστον (δρ.) σ
κρέως προβατικο(ῦ) ὑικ(οῦ) (δρ.) ρ
οἴνου εἰς ἄριστ(ον) (δρ.) σ **633,** col. iii
ψωμίων κιβαρ(ίων) τοῖς παιδ(ίοις) (δρ.) ω
τοῖς (αὐτοῖς) ὑ(πὲρ) οἴνου κα(ὶ)
κοπάδ(ος) (δρ.) σ

	ἐν Ἀσκάλων		**633** only
	ψωμίων καθαρ(ῶν) εἰς δῖπ(νον)	(δρ.) τ	
	σταφυλίων	(δρ.) ρ	
	σ̣ύ̣κ̣ω̣ν̣	(δρ.) ρ	
	δωράκια	(δρ.) ρ	
420	μῆλων	(δρ.) ρ	
	η . . σπουμι . [ ]	(δρ.) ρ	
	πράσων	(δρ.) ρ	
	οἴνου σιρίο̣υ̣	(δρ.) υ	
	δαμασκηνῷ̣[ν]	(δρ.) τ	
425	δωράκια ἄλλα̣ [κ]α̣τὰ		
	[αἴ]ρεσιν	(δρ.) ρ	
	[οἴ]ν̣ο̣υ κιβαρ(ίου)	(δρ.) φ	+**637**
	[γ]άρος ξ̣(έστης) α̣	(δρ.) σ	
	ὄ̣ξ̣ος	[(δρ.)] σ̣	
430	κολυκύνθ(ων)	(δρ.) ρ	
	κεμίων	(δρ.) ρ	
	ξύλων	(δρ.) ρ	
	ᾠ̣ῳ̣ν̣	(δρ.) σ	
	ἐξατιλίων	(δρ.) υ	
435	γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας)	(δρ.) ϟ̣ τ̣	
	θ̄ ἐν Ῥαφίᾳ		
	ψωμίων καθαρ(ῶν)	(δρ.) τ	
	κιβαρ(ίων) τοῖς παιδ(ίοις)	(δρ.) ω	
	ἀψινθίου	(δρ.) σ	
440	ο̣ἴ̣ν̣ου το(ῖς) εἰς ἄριστ(ον)		
	μετὰ τῶν περὶ Ἑρμόδωρ(ου)	(δρ.) χ	
	κρέως αἰγίνων	(δρ.) τ	
	σταφυλίων	(δρ.) ρ	
	πεπόνιν	(δρ.) ρ	
445	κολοκύνθ(ων)	(δρ.) ρ	
	σκαμίων	(δρ.) ρ	
	χρυσοφυδρ( ) β	(δρ.) τ	
	τυρίων	(δρ.) σ	
	οἴνου εἰς δῖπν(όν) σοι	(δρ.) τ	**633,** col. iv
450	ἡ[[μ̣η]]ῖν εἰς πῖν τοῖς παιδί-		
	οις καὶ Δίωνι καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ	(δρ.) φ	
	ἐξατιλίων	(δρ.) σ	**633** only
	γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας)	[(δρ.) Δρ]	
	ῑ ἐν Ῥινοκόρουρ[α]		
455	ψωμίων δ	(δρ.) υ	
	κιβαρ(ίων) τοῖς παιδ(ίοις)	(δρ.) υ	

[δω]ράκια (δρ.) σ
κολοκύνθ(ων) (δρ.) ρ
σικυδίων (δρ.) ρ
ᾠῶν εἰς δεῖπν(ον) (δρ.) υ
οἴνου ὑμῖν εἰς ἄριστ(ον) (δρ.) Ἀυ +637
ἄλλων ψωμίων εἰ[ς τὴ]ν ὁδὸν
τῆς β̄ μονᾶς (δρ.) Ἀσ
ἐλαίου κιβαρ(ίου) (δρ.) υ
οἴνου εἰς τὴν ὁδ(ὸν) μετ(ρητῶν) δ (δρ.) Βω
ᾠῶν εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν (δρ.) υ
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (τάλ.) α (δρ.) Βω
γ(ίν.) τῶν ἀπὸ ς ἕως [ι] καὶ
αὐτῆς ἡμερ(ῶν) ϵ [(τάλ.)] (δρ.) υ

ιᾱ

ἐν Ὀστρακίνῃ
σταφύλων εἰς ἄριστ(ον) (δρ.) σ
τ[υρί]ων (δρ.) σ
σ[ι]κυδίων (δρ.) ρ
ὑπὲρ Σαμβαθ( ) α (δρ.) τ
ἐξατιλίων (δρ.) ρ

ἐν τῷ Κασίῳ
τυρίων εἰς δεῖπν(ον) (δρ.) τ
ἐλαίου κιβαρ(ίου) (δρ.) φ
ἐξατιλίων (δρ.) σ **633** only
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) ΑΤ

ιβ̄ **633,** col. v

ἐν Πενταστοίν(ῳ)
τιμ(ῆς) ἐλαιῶν (δρ.) σ
χρυσοφυδρ( ) (δρ.) ρ

ἐν Πηλουσίῳ
τιμ(ῆς) σκαμ̣ίω̣ν (δρ.) ρ
[κ]ε̣φαλωτίων (δρ.) ρ
ψωμίων τοῖς παι̣[δ(ίοις) (δρ.)] φ
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) Ἀ

ιγ̄

ψω[μ]ίων καθαρ(ῶν) δ ϵ[ἰς τη]ν̣
[ὁ]δὸν (δρ.) υ +637
κ̣ι̣β[αρ(ίων)] τοῖς παιδί(οις) (δρ.) Ἀσ
γάρος (δρ.) [ ]
ὄξ[ο]ς [(δρ.)] σ
τυρίων [(δρ.)] σ
ταρίχων [(δρ.)] σ

ᾠῶν εἰς τὴ(ν) ὁ(δὸν) [(δρ.)] Ϋ
τῷ μ[α]γιστηρίῳ (δρ.) [ ]
ξύλων [(δρ.)] Ϛ
καρ̣ο̣ιδ(ίων) (δρ.) ρ
τιμ(ῆς) Σιλήνου ἀπὸ Τύ-
ρου εἰς οἶνον (δρ.) ϡχ
κοχλ̣ι̣ῶν εἰς ἄριστ(ον) (δρ.) ρ
ἐλαίου κιβαρ(ίου) (δρ.) φ
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) ϵχ

ιδ

ἐν τῶ Κ̣αβαϛείτου
τιμ(ῆς) ὀψαριδ(ίων) (δρ.) σ
σοὶ εἰς πῖν μετὰ
Ἑρμοδώρου (δρ.) υ
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρας (δρ.) χ

ιε

χόρτου τῶν κτηνῶν (δρ.) υ
εἰς Κένας
οἴνο(υ) (ξέστου) α (δρ.) τ
σοὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ποτ̣ηρ(ίων) β̄ εἰς τ(ὸ) (αὐτὸ) (δρ.) σ
σύκων (δρ.) ρ
ψωμίων (δρ.) ρ
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) ϡρ

γ(ίν.) τῶν ἀπὸ ια ἕως ι̣ε̣ καὶ α̣ὐ̣τ̣ῆ̣ς **633** col. vi
ἡμερ(ῶν) ϵ ἀναλώμ̣(ατα) (τάλ.) α (δρ.) ϡΔσ

ις

ἐν Ἡλίου
ὑ(πὲρ) συμβολῆς σα[. .] . σοι (δρ.) ϡΑ
ἐν Βαβυλῶνι λαχάνω[ν] (δρ.) ρ
τιμ(ῆς) ἐλαίου ῥ̣αφανίν̣[ου (ξεστ.)] ϵ (δρ.) ρ
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) ϡΑσ

ιζ

ψωμίων καθαρῶν εἰς τὸ π̣[λϵ]γ( ) (δρ.) ϡΑ
σταφυλίων (δρ.) σ
οἴνου κνιδ(ίου) ᾱ δι(ὰ) ϡΑώρ̣ο̣[υ] (δρ.) ϡΑψ
ἀψινθίου δι(ὰ) ϡΑώρου (δρ.) υ
ἄλλ(ου) κνιδ(ίου) οἴνου δι(ὰ) Ἑρμοῦ (δρ.) ϡΑφ
τιμ(ῆς) οἴνων β̄ εἰς τὸ πλέγ( ) (ταλ.) α
καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ἀναλωμάτ(ων) κοίνου (δρ.) ϡΒχ
ψωμίων κιβαρ(ίων) τοῖς παιδ(ίοις) (δρ.) υ
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (τάλ.) β (δρ.) ϡΑχ

$\overline{\iota\eta}$
τιμ(ῆς) τυρίων τοῖς παιδ(ίοις) (δρ.) σ
ψωμίων κιβαρ(ίων) (δρ.) χ
γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) ω

$\overline{\iota\theta}$
ψωμίων κιβαρί(ων) τοῖς παιδ(ίοις) (δρ.) σ

[$\overline{\kappa}$]
ψωμίων ἀπαλῶν (δρ.) σ
γ(ίν.) τῶν ἀπὸ $\overline{\iota\varsigma}$ ἕως $\overline{\kappa}$ καὶ αὐτῆς
ἡμερ(ῶν) ϵ ἀναλώματ(α) (τάλ.) β (δρ.) ’Δ

$\overline{\kappa\alpha}$
ψωμίων ἀπαλῶν δι(ὰ) Πίωκος (δρ.) τ

$\overline{\kappa\beta}$
ἐν τῷ ’Αμπελῶνι
ψωμίων τοῖς παιδίοις (δρ.) υ

$\overline{\kappa\gamma}$
ψωμίων τοῖς παιδ(ίοις) (δρ.) σ
γ(ίν.) τῶν ἀπὸ α ἕως κγ καὶ αὐτῆς
ἀναλώματ(α) (ταλ.) ια (δρ.) ’ϵϒ

369. *ἴδιως* 463. l. *μονῆς.* 509. l. *τῷ Καβασίτῃ.*

1. Perhaps [*τ(ῷ) π(αρα)χ*]*ύτῃ*[.

7. Perhaps *κινα*]*ρῶν.*

21. *πεπόνιον* (diminutive of *πέπων*): *addendum lexicis.*

55. Here the draft reads *λαχάν(ων) καὶ σικυδίων.*

68. *κορόσπερμον*: *addendum lexicis.* The first part of this compound may be connected with the adjective *κορός.*

79. Cf. **629**, 228 note.

205. Perhaps *αἰγ*]*αίου.*

208. *συμβολή* probably is not here *payment, contribution,* but has the same meaning as *σύμβολον,* a use not recorded in Preisigke, *WB.*; cf. also ll. 28, 31, 57, 60.

210. l. *κιβαρί*[*ου*].

244. We have been unable to find any place between Hydata (Hysdata) and Laodicea that would suit the traces here.

257. There is scarcely room for *ἐν ταβερ*]*νίᾳ,* even if the form is admitted (cf. l. 396).

276. There is a small fragment of the travel accounts measuring 3·6 × 11 cm. and containing part of 16 lines (none complete) which most probably belongs to the missing column vii of **631** (it has been given the number **631** (*a*)) and so would belong in the gap after this line. Among the items are *ὀρνι*[*θίων*] (l. 9) and [*τ*]*ῷ παρ*[*αχύτῃ*] (l. 11). Of these missing lines some of the figures only survive in **636**.

304 f. The text of the draft (**636**, col. vi) differs at this point and reads [1] *γ(ιν.) τῶν ἀπὸ κ*[*δ*] [2] *ἕως λ καὶ αὐτ*[*ῆς*] [3] [*ἡμε*]*ρ(ῶν) ζ̄* [4] [*ἀνα*]*λώματ(α) συνεξαγόμ(ενα)* [5] *(τάλ.) β (δρ.)* Ϝ. The draft accounts were clearly incomplete and were added to later. It is of interest that here they are drawn up for a seven-day period instead of for the usual five-day one.

On the verso of the fair copy, **632**, is written *M*[[*ϵ*]]*ϵσορὴ (τάλ.) ια (δρ.) ϕ* i.e. the total expenditure for the month.

319. After this word (which is not *λαχάνων*) faint traces of another word are visible in the draft.
326 f. The order of items in the draft text is different and the entry in l. 333 does not appear at all.
332. *ἐξατιλίων*: to the meaning of this word (which appears frequently in the accounts) we can find no likely clue in Greek or Latin. Just conceivably it is a corrupt form of *saxatilis*, used of fish found in rock pools.
342. *δωράκια*: *addendum lexicis*, cf. *δωράκινον* (sc. *μῆλον*) *duracinum*, a kind of peach.
374. Possibly [*τιμ(ῆς) με*]*λανίου*.
404. l. *Ἀντιπατρίδι*.
406. *φαβᾶτον*: lentil flour or cakes. *Addendum lexicis* (cf. Latin *fabatus*).
408. *Ἀβέλλα*, i.e. Gebala: cf. **627**, 327 note.
411. *ὑικοῦ* omitted in the draft.
423. l. *σιραίου new wine boiled down* (LSJ.).
425–6. Even if the sense *specially picked* is allowed, we should expect *καθ' αἵρεσιν*; there are no traces of the *αι-* and their addition would mean that the line would hardly be inset at all. But we can think of no better solution.
435. This should read *'ϛυ*.
446. *σκαμίων*: *addendum lexicis*; perhaps connected with *σκαμμωνία* (*σκαμων(α)*).
447. *χρυσοφυδρ( )*: *addendum lexicis*; the second part of the word may be a misspelling of *θρίδαξ*: cf. **629**, 228 note.
463. Note how at this stage supplies (bread, wine, eggs) are bought in quantity before crossing the desert.
473. The draft adds *ὁμ(οίως)*.
475. The draft reads *γ* instead of *α*. The entry is obscure, as if it is treated as a proper name the numeral is hard to explain. Possibly it = *σαββάτ(ων)* and the item may represent some payment to local Jewish funds.
505. The draft adds [*τοῖς*] *παιδίοις*.
516. This place-name is, as far as we know, new; another new place-name may lurk in ll. 531 and 536.
528. The low price of raphanus oil is noteworthy.
531. *πλεῖν* cannot be read; cf. l. 536 and 516 note.
537. What this *κοινόν* was is quite obscure.
539. The figure here should be *Ἄω*, not *Ἄχ*.
541. After this line the draft has two erased entries *σικυδίων* (*δρ.*) *ρ* and *πράσεων* [(*δρ.*)] *ϙ*.
554. An *Ἀμπελών* is known near Aphrodito (*Archiv* VI. 113); this one is presumably near Heliopolis.

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638. ITINERARY

(For description see p. 133.)

Col. i

. . . . . .
]α[
]ạβοσ[
] [
] [
]μίλ(ια) ι[
[. .]τ̣ρ[. . . . .] . [
[.] . τ̣ηλ[. . .]θμ̣ [. . . . .] μίλ(ια) ιγ.
[ἀ]π̣ὸ [[το]]σχ[. . . . .] εἰς Βότρυς [[.]] [
[ἀπὸ] Βότρυο[ς εἰς Βίβλον] μίλ(ια) ιβ
[ἀπὸ] Βί⟨β⟩λου εἰ̣[ς Βιρυτὸν] μίλ(ια) ν . δ
[ἀπὸ] Βιρυτοῦ [εἰς Σιδὼν] μίλ(ια) λϛ

[ἀπὸ] Σιδὼν εἰ[ς Τύρον] μίλ(ια) κϛ
[ἀπὸ] Τύρ[ου] εἰ̣ς̣ Π[τολεμαίδα] μ[ίλ(ια) .]ϛ
ἀπὸ Πτ[ολεμ]α̣ίδα̣ ⟨εἰς⟩ [Συκ]ά̣μι̣ν̣(ον) μ̣[ίλ(ια) .)ζ
ἀπὸ [Συκα]μ̣ί̣ν̣(ου) ⟨εἰς⟩ Κ̣εσαρία[ν μίλ(ια)]
ἀπὸ [Κε]σαρ[ίας] [μίλ(ια)] ϛ
ἀπὸ [Βετά]ρου ε̣[ἰς Ἀ(ντι)]πατρ[ίδα μίλ(ια)]

Col. ii

. . . . . .
[ἀπὸ Ἀ(ντι)πατ]ρ̣ίδ(ος) [εἰς Εἰαμία μίλ(ια)
[ἀπὸ Ε]ἰαμία [εἰς Ἀσκάλων μίλ(ια)
[ἀπὸ] Ἀσκάλων ε̣ἰ̣[ς Γάζα μίλ(ια)
[ἀπ]ὸ̣ Γάζα εἰς [Ῥ]αφ̣[ία μίλ(ια)
[ἀπὸ̣ Ῥαφίας ε̣ἰ̣ς̣ Β̣[ουτάφιον μίλ(ία)
[ἀπ]ὸ Β̣[ου]τ̣α̣φίο̣υ̣ εἰς [Ῥ]ι̣̣νο[κόρουρα μίλ(ια)

2. Perhaps *Ἀντάρ]α̣βος*: in that case the journey to Botrys must have been made in very short stages.
6. If *Τρ[ιπόλεως]* is read, it is hard to see what place can have intervened between it and Botrys; the traces in the next line cannot be made to suit either Arcae or Orthosia. In any case we must assume that *ἀπό* at the beginning of l. 7 was either omitted or abbreviated.
9. 12 miles: so in P and H.
10. 24 miles: so in A.
14. Although in the centre of the line the letters are badly blotted, there is not much doubt that Sykaminos (which does not occur in the outward itinerary) was the stage after Ptolemais; in H also the difference is given as 17 miles.
17. *Βέταρον* is the *mutatio Bethar* of H and **630***, 399 and the *ἀλλαγή* of **628**.
23. This itinerary stops at the Egyptian frontier.

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639. MONTHLY ACCOUNTS

Fragments of a roll containing on both sides draft accounts of day to day expenditure. As pieced together it consists of two long horizontal strips, each badly damaged by worms, of which the first supplies the upper margin and part of the initial entries of six columns and the second the bottom margin and lower part of eight columns. The middle section of the roll is completely lost and the two strips do not touch at any point. The upper strip measures 47·5 × 8·8 cm., the lower 57·5 × 13·2 cm.

The period covered in the roll is the month of Pachon, and it is tempting to regard these accounts as filling the gap between **629** and **630***. In favour of doing so (apart from the date itself) is the close similarity in prices, the fact that all the entries can be paralleled from **629** with the single exception of the sausages in ll. 176 and 211, and that *ἐν Ἀντι[οχ](εί̣α̣)* is a more attractive reading in l. 3, given what we know of Theophanes' movements, than that given in the text. (On grounds of space both are permissible as the writing at this point is so irregular, with occasional wide spacing between letters.) Against this hypothesis must be set the omission of any of the characteristic Syrian entries of **629** such as apricots or damsons or wine measured

by the κάβος, the fact that the account starts on the ninth of the month with the implication that Theophanes' residence in the place mentioned in l. 3 began then, and the references to the citizens of Panopolis (though these might be explained on the hypothesis of a Panopolitan mission in Antioch). In the absence of decisive evidence the question whether **639** should be classed with the travel accounts or the domestic accounts is best left open.

Recto, col. i: [1] ὧν ἀναλωμ(ατ) ἐγένετο ἀναλογ[..]τ̣ο̣ς εἰς θ' Παχὼν (τάλ.) [...] (δρ.) Ἀφ [2] λόγ(ος) [3] ἀναλ[ωμά]τ̣(ων) [...]..ων ἐν Ἀντι[νοειτ(ῶν) πό]λ̣(ει) [4] Π̣α̣[χὼν] [5] τιμ(ῆς) ἀψ[ινθίου] (δρ.) υ [6] τιμ(ῆς) τ[ ] (δρ.) σ [7] [ὀ]ψαρ[ιδίων] (δρ.) σ (gap of *c.* 18 lines) [8] γ(ίν.) παντὸς [ ], [9] ἀργυρ(ίου) (τάλ.) ρμ̣[.] (δρ.) ἀ. Col. ii. Traces of 6 lines on the upper fragment, then a gap of *c.* 18 lines and one erased line. [17] βεσ̣τ̣α̣ς̣ (? = *vestes*) [.....]τ̣ο̣ [18] (inset) πο.[.....]ω̣ν (δρ.) Ἀσ [19] οἴνου (δρ.) Ϯ [20] καροδ(ίων) καὶ σ̣χαδ̣[ί]ω̣ν̣ (δρ.) σ [21] ὀψαριδ(ίων) (δρ.) ρ. Col. iii [ὀψαρ]ίδια [22] καὶ σχάδια (δρ.) σ [23] [τῷ ἠ]πητῇ ὑ(πὲρ) στιχαρ(ίων) β (δρ.) χ [24] [τιμ(ῆς) ο]ἴνου (δρ.) Ϯ [25] [κεμορ]αφάν(ου) (δρ.) [ ] [26] [γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) Ἰω. Traces of 3 more lines, then gap of *c.* 18 lines. [30] [ψωμίων κ]αθαρ(ῶν) (δρ.) σ [31] κ̣ι̣β̣α̣ρ̣(ίων) [τοῖς] παιδίοις (δρ.) Ἀ [32] [λ]αχάνων (δρ.) ρ [33] [ξ]ύλων (δρ.) σ [34] ὀψαριδ(ίων) (δρ.) σ [35] τυρίου (δρ.) ρ [36] ἐλαίας (δρ.) ρ [37] ταρίχου (δρ.) ρ. Col. iv [38] γ(ίν.) τ[ῶν] ἀπὸ ῑ⸗ ἕως ῑε̄ καὶ α[ὐτ(ῆς)] [39] [ἡμ]ερ(ῶν) ϛ̄ ἀναλώματ(α) [(τάλ.) (δρ.)]υ. Traces of 4 lines, then gap of *c.* 16 lines and traces of 5 more. [49] [λ]αχάνων (δρ.) ρ [50] [κε]μίων (δρ.) σ [51] [οἴ]νου (δρ.) Ϯ [52] [κ]εμοραφάνου (δρ.) φ [53] [εἰ]ς βαλανῖον (δρ.) σ [54] ὥστε τῷ κυρί̣(ῳ) (δρ.) σ [55] γ(ιν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) Ἰ̣χ. Col. v [56] ῑη̄⸗ [57] τιμ(ῆς) κρέω[ς [58] τιμ(ῆς) λαχ[άνων [59] καθαρῶ[ν [60] κιβαρίων[[61] ᾤων [62] τυρίου[[63] ἐλαίας [64] ταρίχου. Gap of *c.* 14 lines and traces of two more: [67] [ἐλαίου] κιβαρ(ίου) (δρ.) ψ [68] [τ]αρίχου (δρ.) ρ [69] [ἐλ]αίας (δρ.) ρ [70] [οἴ]νου (δρ.) Ϯ [71] [εἰς] κόλλησιν κουκουμ(ίων) (δρ.) ρ [72] [κε]μοραφάν(ου) (δρ.) ρ [73] [ἀψι]νθάτου (δρ.) υ [74] γ(ιν.) τῆς ἡμερ(ας) Ἀφ. Of col. vi there remains on the upper fragment only the κ̄⸗ at the head of the column and the initial letters of 8 lines; after a gap of about 4 lines and traces of 3 on the lower fragment there follow [87] κ̣ᾱ̣ ψωμίων καθ[αρῶν [88] κιβαρ(ίων) τοῖς πα[ιδίοις [89] λαχάνων[[90] [τα]ρίχου[[91] [ἐλα]ίας[[92] [ὄξ]ους [[93] τ̣υ̣ρίου [[94] ξύλων [[95] οἴνου [[96] ἐλαίου χρηστο(ῦ) ξ(έστ.) α[[97] κεμοραφάνου [98] τιμ(ῆς)] σευδλίων Εὐδαίμονι [δρ.] ρ [99] γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (δρ.) Ἀ⟦ψ⟧ω. The next two columns survive only on the lower strip. Col. vii. Traces of 4 lines, then in the margin κ̄γ̄ and traces of 4 more lines: [108] ξύλ[ων [109] οἴνου [(δρ.)] Ϯ [110] ᾤων (δρ.) ρ [111] κεμοραφ[άνου] (δρ.) ρ [112] εἰς βαλαν[ῖον] (δρ.) τ [113] ἐλαίας (δρ.) ρ [114] ταρίχου (δρ.) ρ [115] ὀνυχίων β̄ ἑφθίων (δρ.) τ [116] ἀφόνιτρον (δρ.) ρ [117] [γ(ίν.) τῆ]ς̣ ἡμ(έ)ρ(ας) (δρ.) Ἀτ. Col. viii. Traces of 3 lines: [121] κ̄ε̄ ἕδ⟦ρ⟧ρα ὥστ[ε] τ[, [122] βοηθῷ Μακ[ ]ιδ[....]. [123] ὑ(πὲρ) [124] Σιλβα[νο]ῦ τῷ ἀπ̣[....]ε̣ιω (ταλ.) γ (δρ.) [[125] ⟦Παῦνι ιγ Εὐδαίμονι εἰς χεῖ[ρα ....]ε⟧ [126] ⟦(ταλ.)..(δρ.) Ἀβ⟧

Verso. Of col. i all that remains of 5 lines on the upper strip are sums in denarii preceded by the abbreviation of λίτρα; on the lower strip there are traces of one line only. This column did not form part of the main account which continues directly from R. col. vi to V. col. ii. Col. ii [133] κ̄β̣⸗ τοῖς ὀφ(φικιαλίοις) καὶ Πανοπολίτ(αις) εἰς ἄριστ(ον) [134] ψ[ωμίων κα]θ̣αρῶν δ̄ (δρ.) υ [135] κιβ[αρ(ίων)....]. (δρ.) Ἀσ. Then traces of 9 lines and after a gap of *c.* 4 lines and traces of 10 lines on the lower strip: [155] ἐλ[αίας] (δρ.) ρ [156] ᾤω̣ν̣ (δρ.) σ Col. iii [157] τιμ(ῆς) γά̣[ρους] (δρ.) Ἀσ [158] ἐλαίου κι[βαρ]ί(ου) (δρ. ψ). Then initial letters of 8 lines and after a gap of 6 lines and traces of 8 lines on the lower strip [175] τῷ π[.....]τ̣ιχ( ) (δρ.) ω [176] τιμ(ῆς) εἰσσικι[αρίων] (l. ἰσ.) (δρ.) ω [177] τουρτίων δι[....].αχ( ) (δρ.) υ [178] ὀνυχίων γ (δρ.) τ [179] ψωμίων κιβαρ(ίων) [180] τοῖς πα[ιδ(ίοις) Ἀ]πόλλ̣[ωνο]ς (δρ.) υ [181] τοῖς νε[αν]ίσκοις τοῦ ὀφ(φικιαλίου) [182] ψωμίω̣[ν κ]ιβαρ(ίων) (δρ.) χ. Col. iv [183] τοῖς [? Παν]οπολίταις [184] ἐκ [κελ]εύσεώς σου (δρ.) Ἰ [195] ὄξου[ς] (δρ.) τ [186] ἀψ[ινθίου] (δρ.) ρ [187] εἰς [? ἄριστ(ον) μετὰ τ]ῶν ὀφ(φικιαλίων) [188] [ ] τ̣ο̣ῖς αὐτ(οῖς) (δρ.) χ [189] θυδρά[κων] (δρ.) ρ [190] τιμ(ῆς) ε̣σ̣τ̣[.....]. (δρ.) χ. Then after a gap of *c.* 14 lines and traces of 2 lines on the lower strip [193] τ̣[οῖς παιδ(ίοις)] τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ ὀφ(φικιαλίου) (δρ.) υ [194] κεμ[ο]ρ̣[αφάν(ου)] (δρ.) ρ [195] Βικίν̣[ῳ ὥστε] κελλαρ(ίῳ) (δρ.) Ἀω [196] γ(ίν.) τ[ῆς ἡμέ]ρ(ας) (τάλ.) δ (δρ.) Ἀυ [197] γ(ίν.) ἀν[αλώμ̣ατ(α) τῶν κ̄ᾱ [198] ἕως [κ̄ε̄ ἡμ]ερ(ῶν) ε̄ `[καὶ] αὐτῆς' [199] ἀργυρ(ίου) (τάλ.) ζ (δρ.) ἈϮ. Col. v [200] [κ̄]ς [τιμ(ῆς)] κρέως λι(τρ.) β̄ [(δρ.)] Ἀ̣[ ]. Traces of 2 lines followed by a blank and a gap of *c.* 16 lines; on the lower strip after traces of 2 lines [205] ἐλαί[ας] (δρ.) ρ [206] λαχ[άνων] (δρ.) ρ [207] ξύ[λων] (δρ.) σ [208] ἐλ[αίου] χ̣ρ̣η̣σ̣τ̣(οῦ) (δρ.) Ἀσ [209] ἐλ[αίου] κιβαρίου (δρ.) ψ. Col. vi [210] ἐκ Ταρίσε καὶ Ὀξυ.[...]σ̣ηκ [211] εἰσσικια̣ρ̣(ιόις) (l. ἰσικ.) ⟦ε̣..⟧ [(δρ.)] υ [212] ᾤων [(δρ.)] σ [213] κεμοραφάν(ου) [, [214] σαφωνίων [. Then traces of 2 lines and after a gap of *c.* 18 lines [217] κιβα̣[ρίω]ν [, [218] τυρίου [(δρ.)] ρ [219] κρέως λι(τρ.) β̄ [(δρ.)] χ [220] ταρίχου [(δρ.)] ρ [221] ἐλαίας (δρ.) ρ [222] λαχάνων (δρ.) ρ [223] ξύλων (δρ.) σ. Col. vii [224] ᾤων (δρ.) σ [225] ὀψαριδίω̣[ν] (δρ.) ρ [226] σχαδίω̣[ν] (δρ.) σ [227] εἰς κόλ[λησιν....]. [228] κουκ[ουμίων] (δρ.) σ [229] ἀφονίτρ[ου (δρ.)] ρ. Then traces of 2 lines and after a gap of *c.* 16 lines and traces

of 1 line on the lower strip [233] γάρος [(δρ.] Ἀσ [234] ὄξους (δρ.) σ [235] ἐλαίου κιβα[ρ(ίου)] (δρ.) ψ [236] καροιδίων κ[α]ι̣ λαχά(νων) (δρ.) σ [237] κεμοραφ(άνου) (δρ.) ρ [238] γ(ίν.) τῆς ἡμέρ(ας) (τάλ.) α (δρ.) ψ [239] γ(ίν.) ἀναλώματ(α) τῶν ἀπὸ κ̄ς̄ ἕως λ̄ [240] καὶ αὐτῆς ἡμερ(ῶν) ε̄ ἀργυρίου (ταλ.) ϵ (δρ.) Δτ.

640–9. DOMESTIC ACCOUNTS

These papers have nothing to do with Theophanes' journey to Syria. They are domestic accounts and memoranda which give an idea of the standard of living of a prosperous member of the *haute bourgeoisie* of the period. Theophanes' domestic staff is numerous and in some respects his economy anticipates that of the great houses of Byzantine Egypt.

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640. ACCOUNT OF WINE

25·3×26·2 cm.

λόγος οἴνου .
τὰ ἐ̣νεκθέντα ἀπὸ τῆς
γεο̣[υ]χικῆς οἰκίας — κνίδ(ια) ν̄

Ⳑ ἀναλώματ(α) Παχὼν ϛ̄
τοῖς ἀπὸ Σεσιὺ εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν — οἴν(ου) κνίδ(ια) β̄
Φὶβ ἰδίῳ ἐκ κελεύσεως τῆς οἰκοδεσ(ποίνης) — κ[νίδ(ιον)] ᾱ
Θελούρῳ Περσέωνι ὁμ(οίως) — οἴν(ου) κνί̣δ̣(ιον) ᾱ
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ λινοπλυστῇ — οἴν(ου) κνίδ(ιον) α
ϵ
τοῖς μ̣αγίροις — οἴν(ου) κνίδ(ιον) α
εἰσικιαρίῳ — οἴν(ου) κνίδ(ιον) α
Ὀλυμπ̣ί̣ῳ ἐξ̣αρτιστ(ήρι) — οἴν(ου) κνίδ(ια) β
πλακου[ντ]ᾷ̣ — οἴν(ου) κνίδ(ια) α
Διοσ̣κ̣ό̣ρ̣ῳ ὥστε τῷ μουλίωνι — οἴν(ου) κνίδ(ιον) α
εἰς ἄριστ(ον)
τοῖς περὶ Ἡρακλίδην καὶ Γόνθ(ον) — οἴν(ου) κνίδ(ιον) α
ἁλιεῦσι δι' Ἀτρῆτος Σαννῶθ(ος) — οἴν(ου) κνίδ(ιον) α
εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν τῆς (αὐτῆς) ϵ ἡμέρ(ας) — οἴν(ου) κνίδ(ια) ῑ
τοῖς μαγίροις ὀ̣ψ̣ὲ̣ — οἴν(ου) κνίδ(ιον) α
Διονυσίῳ Δίω(νος) ὥστε Ἐπαγκρατίων(ι) — οἴν(ου) κνίδ(ιον) α
Πινουτίωνι ἀρχιναυπήγῳ — κνίδ(ιον) α
εἰς ἄριστο̣ν μετὰ τῆς οἰκοδεσποίν(ης) — κνίδ(ια) β
Φήλικι ἀ̣ρ̣τοκόπῳ — κνίδ(ια) β
παιδαρίοις Ἀδριανοῦ
Πινουτίωνι μαγίρῳ — κνίδ(ιον) α
τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀχιλλέως — κνίδ(ια) δ
τῷ πατρὶ Διοσκόρῳ μουλίωνος — κνίδ(ιον) α
[[αζο]] Μ̣ε̣ν̣ά̣ν̣δ̣(ρῳ) δούλ(ῳ) ευρηθ( ) . εξ ( ) — κνίδ(ιον) α

Κολλούθῳ . . ηθ(ω) [[Ἀφθονίου ἐκ κελεύ(σεως) τοῦ]]
γεούχ(ου) κνίδ(ιον) α

2. l. *ἐνεχθέντα* 5. *Σεσιϋ* 10. l. *ἰσικιαρίῳ* 18. *επαγ'κρατιωνι* 25. l. *Διοσκόρου*

5. This symbol, or something like, is found in P. Flor. II and P. Lond., indicating (as here) deduction.

6. *οἰκοδέσποινα*: this may indicate that Theophanes was absent from home.

7. Neither of these names is to be found in Preisigke's *Namenbuch* or in Pape, *Griechische Eigennamen*. For the former, see **645**, 6: *Περσέωνι* may be a slip for *Περσέωνος*.

8. *λινοπλυστῇ*: *λινοπλυτής*, *flax-washer*, is cited in LSJ. only as a probable reading in Aetius.

11. *ἐξαρτιστήρ*, *fitter*, *addendum lexicis*; cf. *ἐξαρτιστήριον* in **641**, 8 for which the dictionaries quote only the glossators.

15. Probably a variant of *Σανῶς*, genitive *Σανῶτος*.

19. *ἀρχιναυπήγῳ*: *addendum lexicis*.

26. *ευρυθ* might just be read instead of *ευρηθ* and would suit better for a proper name (e.g. *Εὔρυθμος*) which, rather than any part of *εὑρίσκω*, is what the sense demands. *ευρηθ*, on the other hand, may find support in l. 27 and is certainly the easier reading. The traces before *εξ*( ) resemble an *η* but might be read as *ισ* or *νσ*.

27. The surface of the papyrus, where not broken, is too abraded for the letters before *ηθ*( ) to be conjectured; if the word was not *εὑρηθ*( ), *βοηθ*(ῷ) is the obvious supplement and would suit the space better.

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641. ACCOUNT OF WINE

11×25 cm.

Διόσκ(οροs) .

ἀναλώματ(α) κνιδ(ίων) ῑ̄ν
—— ὧν
τοῖς μαγίροις κνίδ(ια) β
πλακουντᾶσ(ι) κνίδ(ιον) α
εἰς ἄρτησιν τοῖς μαγίροις α′
. . καὶ τὰ σι . [.] θέντα εἰς ὑπηρεσί(αν) ( ) ιβ
[[.]] εἰς τὸ ἐ[ξα]ρτιστήρ(ιον) α
παρεδρίο(ις) στρατηγ(οῦ) η
ἄλλ(ὰ) ὀψὲ β
φαμηλίᾳ Ὑπερχαίου γ
Ἀνδρέᾳ ὁμοί(ωs) α′
Ὀλυμπίῳ ἐξαρτίστ(ῆρι) β′
Κερασ . . . α
Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἀρτοκ(όποs) β′
βοηθοῖς Γελλ[ί]ο(υ)
μί{μ}μοις δ′

σ——

Πινοῦτι καὶ νεκρ [. . . .]αιρ( ) α
ἐν[[θ]] Ψάει ὁμ(οίωs)

τοῖς Ἀπολλ( ) ι̣ . υ . . ς̣ δ̄
πατὴρ Διοσκόρου κνίδ(ιον) α
(Written at the bottom of the column in the reverse direction)
τοῖς ἀκροβάτ(αις) οἴνο(υ) κνίδ(ια) δ̄
τῆι παρεδρίᾳ στρατηγ(οῦ) δ
ἡμῖν παρεδρ(εύουσιν) δ
Διοσκόρῳ καὶ Ἑρ(μῆ) α

Verso

Πελοῦτι α
πλακουντ(ᾶσι) α
μαγίροις β
ἐξαρτιστ(ῆρι) β
εἰσσικιαρ(ίοις) β
εἰς ἴρωσιν η̄
Σιλβανῷ ἰδίω(ς) α
τ(οῖς) παρεδρίοις [[η]] ι″
τ̣ο̣(ῖς) π̣[α]ιδαρίοι̣[ς] α
τ[. . . . .]οις . . α
α . [. . . .] α
β̣ι̣[ ] α
. [ ] [ὁ]μοί(ως) β′
α[ ] β
. [. .]α̣ρ̣[.]α̣ [[α]] β⁻
ἡ̣ν̣[ιό]χ[ο]ι̣ς̣ α
κε̣[ ] α
βε . [.]κ̣[.]ο̣[. .] ἰδ̣(ίως) α
η̄ . [ ] ⁻β

15. l. *Ἀρτεμιδώρῳ ἀρτοκόπῳ*. 21. l. *πατρί*. 23. l. *παρεδρείᾳ*. 30. l. *ἰσσικιαρίοις* 31. l. *ἱέρωσιν*. 32. *ἴδιως* P.

1. There is a space between the *σ* and the *κ* and no mark of abbreviation after the latter. Dioscorus may have been one of the estate bailiffs.

5. For this form of *πλακουντάριος* see P. Oxy. 1495, 7 note: cf. **640**, 12.

6. *εἰς ἄρτησιν*: i.e. for use in cooling.

7. The two letters at the beginning of this line may have been erased. The word at the end of the line is very cursively written and *πυρᾶν*( ) is a possible reading; immediately before the *π* is a space with no marks of ink and the *π* may follow directly on the *υ*. *σιτ*[*η*]*θέντα* is an obvious but improbable supplement.

9. *παρέδριοι*, *attendants on* rather than *assessors with*, the strategus. *παρέδριον* is an alternative, but less likely reading (cf. l. 33).

19. The first two letters of this line as well as the third may have been erased. *Ψάει* may correspond to *Διόσκορος* in l. 1.

30. For this word (*insiciarius*) LSJ. quote only the form *ἰσικιάριος*; cf. also **639** 176, 211, **640**, 10.

642. BUILDING ACCOUNT

Fr. i. 12×13·8 cm.

Fragments of an account of payments to building operatives written in a fine slanting hand which though it closely resembles is probably not identical with those of the travel accounts. On grounds of date and origin it may with probability be included in the Theophanes archive.

Fr. i

. . . . . .
[ἀργυ]ρ(ίου)
[ ] (δρ.) [
[c. 10 letters] ἐργα̣[ζομεν( )] (δρ.) [
[. .] . ερ . . κ( ) [ἀ]ργυρ(ίου) [
5 [το]ῖς οἰκοδ(όμοις) ἀργυρ(ίου) (δρ.) [
[. . . .] . ιῳ ὥστ[ε] Παυσίρ[ει . . . . .]ρ . α αρουρ̣ [
[ ]″ [Σιλβα]νοῦ φροντιστοῦ [. . . . . .] . Λυσιμαχ( ) . [
ι̣δ̣ τ̣[c. 20 letters] ἀργ̣[υρ(ίου)
ι̣ϛ̣ τ[. . . . .]κ̣ου ὑ(πὲρ) οἰκ(οδομίας) ἐν Θαλλοῦ ἀρ̣γ̣(υ)ρ̣(ίου) [
10 το[ῖς πο]ταμίταις ὑ(πὲρ) μισθ(οῦ) λάκκο̣(υ) [. . .] . ιο(υ) ἀργυρ(ίου) [
κγ π[ηλο]αρτ( ) δ ἐ̣κ (δρ.) σ [
ἐργάτ(ης) ᾱ ξένος δι(ὰ) Ἀμμωνίου Χώ[λ(ου)] ἀργυρ(ίου) [
κδ Σιλβά̣ν̣ου φροντ(ιστοῦ) ὥστε Αὐρηλ(ίῳ] Χ̣ώλ(ου) Λυσιμα[χ
ἐργατ(ῇ) ᾱ δι(ὰ) Ἀμμωνίου Χώλ(ου) (δρ.) τ πηλο̣α̣ρ̣[τ]( ) (δρ.) [
15 κε τοῖς ο[ἰκ]οδόμοις ἐργαζομέν(οις) [.] . ι . [. . .]υγμου [
ἐργάτ(ης) ᾱ ξ̣ένος δι' Ἀμμωνίου Χώλ(ου) ἐργα[ζό]μ̣εν(ος) [.] . π̣οεπ̣[
κ[ς] ἐργάτ(ης) [ᾱ] αὐτός [
κ̣ζ̣ ὁμ(οίως) το[ῖς δι(ὰ)] Ἀμμωνίου Χώλ(ου) [

γ(ίν.) (τάλ.) κε ⟨(δρ.)⟩ Ἐβσ

9. ο of οικ′ written over ∫ 15.]υγ'μου P.

Fr. ii

. . . . .
[πηλο]αρτ( ) [
[ἐ]ρ̣γάτ(ῃ) ᾱ Ἠλία[
[ ] πηλοαρτ( ) ᾱ [
ζ̄ [ἐ]ργάτ(ῃ) α Ἠλία[
5 πηλοαρτ( ) β [
Σιλβανοῦ φ[ροντ(ιστοῦ) β [
ἐπὶ τῆς ι̅ς̅ ποιη( ) [

[Μ]εσορὴ η [illegible] [.]πι . [
] ἐργάτ(ῃ) ᾱ Ἠ[λία
10] πηλοαρτ ( ) [

] ἐργάτ(ῃ) ᾱ ʼΗ[λία
] πηλοαρτ ( ) β [
]″ πηλοαρτ ( ) β [
] γ(ίν.) ὁμοίως ἀναλώματ(α) [

Fr. i. 10. The pond was presumably used in making bricks.

11. πηλοαρτ( ): this synonym of πηλοποιός has not occurred before. πηλοαρτιστήρ (cf. ἐξαρτίζειν) is perhaps the likeliest resolution.

13. Perhaps ⟨ἐν⟩ should be supplied after Χώλ(ου).

15. Perhaps [διορ]υγμοῦ.

16. εἰς τὸ ἐπ[cannot be read.

17. αὐτός: i.e. payment was made direct, not through an intermediary.

7. Fr. ii. Perhaps ποιή(σεως).

8. This symbol is puzzling: it is formed in two parts and the lower part might be interpreted as a large sigma, but the upper part (μ) does not admit of a similar explanation.

643. 23·3×28·9 cm. Fourth century. Provenance probably Hermopolis, but there is nothing conclusive to associate it with the Theophanes archive, but its condition, particularly the pattern of the holes and gaps occasioned by worms, strongly suggests that it was stored with the archive. Three columns, all incomplete, of accounts in denarii. Col. i, ll. 15–17: [15] καὶ τιμῆς ὁλοκ(οττίνων) ʹζ μ(υρ.) δ (δην.) β, [16] γ(ίν.) ὁμοῦ εἰς α Παῦνι τὰ δοθέντ(α) [17] ὑπό σου Διοσκόρ(ῳ) μ(υρ.)· [(δην.)] Η̄ρζν. Col. ii: [1] [Π]αῦνὶ ʹ ᾳ [ʻΕ]ρμί[ᾳ?, [2] τῷ κυβερν[ήτῃ]· (δην.) φ [3] γαῦται δ̄ ἀπὸ [[4] τιμ(ῆς) εἰς {εις} κ[[5] τιμ(ῆς) σχοινίου (δην.)[[6] Διοσκουρίδῃ (δην.) ʼΓ [7] ἐν Σερβιττίῳ [Τ]ῦβι (δην.) ʼΓσ [[8] δαπανῆς [ὁ]μοῦ ἡμερ[ῶν [9] Λεοντίῳ ἐξ ἐπιθήκη[ς [10] Διοσκουρίδ(ῃ) ᾳ[περ-] χομένῳ αὐτ[[11] [....] γ.αθῳ {ι} εἰς γαῦ(λον?) [[12] γ(ίν.) ὁμοῦ ἀναλώματ(α) εἰ[ς [13] μυρ(ιάδες) λδ (δην.) Z̄ υ[.], [14] λοι(παὶ) μυρ(ιάδες) το[[λ]]ε ⟨(δην.)⟩ ʼΓσ. Col. iii, ll. 15–16: [15] ἀναλώματος ἡμερῶν ζ ἀπὸ κ̄γ̄ [16] ἡμερ(ῶν) ζ̄ (δην.) ʼΓχν. On the verso, besides a few jottings, is a list of payments to individuals in myriads of denarii; the highest is 100 myriads to Phil.[. The only unfamiliar name is ʼΟξυπε[(l. 8). The place-name in R. ii. 7 (which recurs, in an incomplete form, in R. i. 3) is puzzling. That it is identical with the garrison town of that name on the Save is very improbable; perhaps ex-soldiers from Pannonia settled in Upper Egypt and named, or renamed, the village after their *origo*. (Germanic names such as Γοῦνθος are common in the fourth century, cf. the Sarmatians of **627**.) The price of the solidus in terms of denarii (R. i. 13) points to a date about A.D. 325 for our text (see F. M. Heichelheim, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Altertums*, I, p. 779).

644. Fragment of one column of account, 5·7×15. Ll. 6 f.: [6] προβαλλ[ομένοις? [7] χ.εσσινα[[8] ἑτέροις [9] βρέκωνι (i.e. *praeconi*, cf. *Stud. Pal.* XX, p. 77) [10] το(ῖς) προβαλλ[ομένοις [11] τιμ(ῆς) ευλιλι·[[12] ὤων ὥστε τ[ῷ [13] Κομητανίῳ [[14] Σιλβανῷ [[15] κ[α]ὶ [(end of column).

645. Part of one column of accounts of payments in wine, 14·9×13 cm., belonging to Theophanes' archive, but not to the travel accounts. Written on the verso in a very faded hand; recto blank. Upper margin intact. [1] ἀναλώματ(α) ο[ἴνο]υ.ʹ [2] γ̄ ῑ( )..λε.( ) [ ].β̄ [3] Θλωτι.[ ].υ( ) β̄ʹ, [4] ʻΗρᾶτι λ[ ] α-, [5] σοὶ τῇ γ[εούχῳ] α [6] Θελερ[[7] Ἄκυσίῳ[[8] (inset) τοῖ[ς [9] μουσικ[οῖς [10] Ἄκερ - - [[11] παρέδ[ροις, [.]λλερ..[..]ν [. Faint traces of six more lines. Against l. 3 is written ξ(εστ.) preceded by three indecipherable letters.

646. Upper part of a column of accounts, 4·2×14·2 cm., probably belonging to the Theophanes archive but of a later date than most of the papers. At head of column in margin is (τάλ.) ρν. [1]]μεν( ) ʻΟδομην( ) (τάλ.) μη [2]]ερ( ) Πορφυρ(ίου) (τάλ.) ξ [3]]τρωγ̣ου (τάλ.) α (δρ.) ʼΔσ [4]]θίου Πορφ(υρίου) (τάλ.) λη (δρ.) Ἀφ. Of the remaining seven lines, only a few figures survive, except for l. 7 which runs]ου πράσεως (δρ.) σ.

647. Memorandum. ?Hermopolis. 12·5×10·1 cm. Early fourth century. The hand suggests that it may have belonged to the Theophanes archive. Verso blank. Col. i: [1] ἐν τῷ τρικλιν(ίῳ) [2] τύλ(αι) [[ιζ]] [3] ἄλ(λαι) μικραὶ [4] κεναὶ (l. καιναὶ) γ̄ [5] σκῶλ(ος) α¯. Col. ii: [1] ,νίῷ Μενελ(άου) ι¯ [2] ,Μεμφείτῃ ι¯ [3] ,Μώρῳ ιε̄ [4] ,Θέωνι ι [5] ,Φιλοξέν(ῳ) ιε¯ [6] Οὐαλ(ερίῳ) ις [7] ,Κοπρέᾳ ι¯ [8] ,Ἑρμοφίλῳ Κλειδ( )ε¯ [9] Διοσκουρίδῃ ι¯ [10] [..]γιμίωνι [11] ʻΕρμι-νσίῳ Χαιμ( ) ε̄ [12] ε̣.[.].θ( ) ῑᾱ.

648. List. Hermopolis. 6·6×12·4 cm. Early fourth century. The symbol or abbreviation, which appears

after each name is puzzling (cf. **642**, ii, 8, note). It is normally formed in three strokes in such a way that precludes its being read as *γρ*( ); once it appears as *ν* with a cross above it. *ναύβιον* (see P. Lond. III, index) is on the whole a likelier solution than *νομισμάτιον*. 1 *γραφὴ κτη(μάτων) το(ῦ)* 2 *περὶ νο..*( ) *τῷ* 3 *Παχὼν α̣* 4 *Μαγδῶ[λα] (ναύβ.) ς* 5 *Ὀφεως (ναύβ.] δ* 6 *Σεσιὺ (ναύβ.) δ* 7 *.ọυψ (ναύβ.) β* 8 *Βωοῦ (ναύβ.) γ* 9 *Σέλλεχ (ναυβ.) β* 10 *γιν. (ναύβ.) κα.*

649. 8·3×14·2 cm. Early fourth century. Along the fibres. Probably part of the Theophanes archive. Account of which only the sums in talents and drachmae survive with the following exceptions: 5]*ος (τάλ.) ι''* 6 *ἀναλ]ώμ̣ατ(α) (τάλ.) σιη (δρ.] Ἐφ* 8]*μελαν*( ) *(τάλ.) η* 9]*.λλ̣α̣θ*( ) *(τάλ.) ιβ*. If in l. 8 *μελαν*( ) is expanded to *μέλαν(ος)*, *ink*, the price paid indicates a date when the inflation was at its height.

650. 11·8×25·5 cm. Early fourth century A.D. Draft of building account (cf. **642**). The larger part of the papyrus was left blank, as was the verso. 1 *Μεσορὴ γ̄* (corr. from *δ*) *Ἡλίαν ἐργάτ(αι) πηλοαρτ*( ) *ᾱ οἰκοδ(όμοι) β* 2 [[*δ οἰκοδ(όμοι) β ἐργάτ(αι) ϵ*]] *οἰκ[οδ(όμοι)] β ἐργάτ(αι) ζ̄ ἐν Ἡλίαν* 3 *καὶ ξένοι δ̄* [*c.* 10 letters *κ*]*α̣ὶ ἴδιοι* (diacritical points over initial *ι* represented by a line which links with the top of the *δ*) 4 *ς̄ οἰκοδ(όμοι) β̄ ἐργ*[*άτ(αι)* [*c.* 6 letters].[.].*ετερ*( ) *ᾱ* (perhaps *ἕτερ(ος) ᾱ*) 5 *ζ̄ οἰκοδ(όμοι) β ἐργάτ(αι) ϵ̄ μι̣.*[*c.* 8 letters *ἐ*]*ργάτ(αι) β* 6 *η̄ οἰκοδ(όμοι) β ἐργάτ(αι) λα* [*c.* 10 letters].*ἐργ(άται) β*. For *πηλοαρτ*( ) see **642**, 11, note.

651. 25·3×11 cm. Early fourth century. Account, for which compare **642** and **649**. *κ̄η̄ ὁμοί(ως) διὰ τοῦ (αὐτοῦ) Ἀμμωνίου ὥστε τῷ ἐργάτῃ (δρ.) τ* 2 [*τ*]*ιμ(ῆς)* [*c.* 8 letters].*λεμων ζ̄ ἐκ (δρ.) ρ (δρ.) ψ* 3 *κ*[*θ̄ c.* 10 letters] *δι(ὰ) Ἑρμαπόλλωνος βοηθ(οῦ)* 4 [*? τοῖς ἐργαζομέ*]*νοις ὑ(πὲρ) μισθ(οῦ) (τάλ.) ς (δρ.) Δ* 5 [*c.* 12 letters] *ὑ(πὲρ) ἐργάτ(ου) ᾱ ἐν τῷ Λυσιμαχ*( ) *(δρ.) τ* 6 [*c.* 12 letters] *ἐν τῷ λάκκ(ῳ) (δρ.) ω*. Of two subsequent lines only the drachma symbol survives. In line 5 *ἐν τῷ Λυσιμάχ(ου) sc. ἐποικίου* might be read. On the verso are remains in a faded hand of two columns of which the former records the distribution of oil in *κοτύλαι*; the second is as follows: 1 *Φαμενὼθ δ̄ι* 2 *χρεία (τάλ.) ιϵ* 3 .[.]*.ἔσχεν τὸν τοῦ .ν*[.]*..του* 4 .[.]*αρ*( )*πημητρε̣ι̣*[ ] *(δρ.) Γ.*

VII. DOCUMENTS OF THE BYZANTINE PERIOD

652. LETTER FROM THE *PRAEFECTUS ANNONAE ALEXANDRIAE*

Hermopolis 47·2×33 cm. Late fourth/fifth century.

In this letter, of which two-thirds of each line, to judge from the spacing of the preamble, are probably lost, the *praefectus annonae Alexandriae* who was responsible for the collection of the *annona civica* in Egypt and its transportation to Constantinople, transmits to the authorities of Hermopolis a formal receipt discharging them from their obligations. Immediately after the prescript (ll. 1–2) follows a line which was added after the completion of the document; in this the superior of the *praefectus*, the Count of the Sacred Consistory in Constantinople (acting, no doubt, through his local representative), countersigned the receipt. Lines 4–9 consist of the receipt itself; then follows a copy of the detailed statements addressed to the *praefectus* by his subordinates, which form the necessary basis for the receipt. The whole document (to which we know of no parallel) is a good example of the elaborate process of check and countercheck typical of the Byzantine bureaucracy. Probably not less than half of each line is lost. See in general for the *annona civica* at this period Wilcken, *GZ.* pp. 370–1, and A. Segrè in *Byzantion*, XVI (1942–3), p. 395.

Small traces of writing on one corner of the verso are probably not connected with the recto text.

Φλαούιος Σωτήριχος ὁ διασημότατος ἔ[π]αρχος [ἀννώνης Ἀλεξανδρείας
Ἑρμουπολίτου [

(2nd hand) Φλ(αούιος) Ἀμμώνιος ὁ λαμπρό(τατος) κόμ(ες) τοῦ θείου κονσιστωρίου ἐσημείωσα̣νι// κ
[. . . . . .] δ̣ ἐκδοθειρ̣[

(1st hand) Κατὰ τὴν ἀποσταλῖσαν παρὰ σοῦ πρὸς τὴν τάξιν ἀναφορὰν γίγνωσκε εἰσκαικομι̣[σθαι
. . . . .] ι̣[. . .] τα α̣ . [

διὰ Βησαρίωνος ὑπὲρ ἑνδεκατῆς ἰν[δικτίονος . . . .]ι̣[. . . . .]α[. . . . . .]ι̣[

Π(ερὶ) σιτομ(ετρίας) Ἀλ̣[ε]ξ̣(ανδρείας) τὴν λ̣α̣μπρο[τάτην
δισχιλίας πεντακοσίας δέκα τρία ἥμισυ καὶ τῇ πρὸ ἐ̣ννέα καλε̣νδῶ̣ν τῶν αὐτῶν ἀ̣ρτάβ̣ας
ἑκατὸν μία[ν

Φλαουίῶ̣ν Ἀνδρονίκ̣(ου) καὶ Παλλαδίου καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου καὶ Μακαρίου ἀπὸ ὑπομνη-
ματογράφων διὰ Ἀνδρονί̣[κου

]φ . . ε . δ( )
]̣ . . λε

τῆς ἀννωνιακῆς τάξεως ἧς τὸ ἀντίτυπον ὑποτέτακται ἡ ἐμὴ καθοσίωσις τε̣ . ο̣ . . [.]αν
ὅπερ τῆς κε̣[

10 Φλ(αουίῳ) Σωτηρίχῳ τῷ δ(ια)σημοτάτῳ ἐπαρχῷ ἀνν(ώνης) Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) θ(αυμασιωτάτῳ) κυρί(ῳ) εἰσκαικομ(ίσμεθα) τοῖς ορ( ) κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξ(άνδρειαν) τὸ προκ(είμενον) τὸ προβε [

(3rd hand) σί(του) (ἀρτάβαι) (μυριὰς) α βψα επει αφ( ) η . ει( ) ταύτης προκ(ειμεν) τῇ εὐσεβε(ίᾳ) καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ σῇ

(4th hand) Φλ(αούιος) Ἀπολλώνιος σκρ(ινιάριος) δι' ἐμοῦ Φλ(αουίου) Ἰωάννου συμφωνῖ τὸ προκείμενον μέτρον σίτου ἀπὸ νομ[οῦ

(5th hand) [. . .] ννδ . . πι κασπελλ( ) Διοσκ[ο]ρι . . . . χος Μακαρίου δι(ὰ) ἐμοῦ Ἰωάννου διαδόχ(ου) συμφ(ωνεῖ) τὸ προκείμε[νον

(6th hand) [. . . . . ἀ]πὸ ὑπομνηματογράφων ὑποδέκτης νομ(οῦ) τοῖς κύροις μου συμφωνῖ τὸ προκείμενον μέτρον τοῦ σί[το]υ [

(7th hand) [. . . . .] Ἰωάννης ιτα( )σκρ(ινιάριος) συμφωνῖ τὸ προκείμενον μέτρον τοῦ σίτου [ἀ]πὸ νομοῦ Ἑρμοπολί[του

3. λαμπρ/κομ χ P. 1. εἰσκεκομ[ισθαι, cf. l. 10. 10. αννς αλεξδ ορρ P.

1. Flavius Soterichus is not otherwise known. His title appears here for the first time in the papyri in the form in which it is given in the Theodosian Code (12, 6, 3); W. *Chr.* 433 records an *ἀννωνέπαρχος* in A.D. 380.

3. Possibly *ἐσημειωσάμ(ην)* should be read, but it is very doubtful; it must have been intended.

4. Who the *σύ* is is not clear; perhaps the *exactor*, although *epimeletae* were responsible for collecting the city's quota.

ἀναφορά occurs not infrequently in papyri and inscriptions of the Ptolemaic period meaning *instalment*; here it may mean simply *payment*. At the end of the line perhaps *τὰ ἀν[νωνιακὰ εἴδη*.

6. This might suggest that the subject of the letter was the *annona* of Alexandria; this, however, was known as the *τρόφιμον* and was separately organized.

10. Probably *τοῖς ὁρρίοις*.

11. The total of 11,701 artabai may be compared with the 6,053 artabae at which Aphrodito was assessed in A.D. 531 (P. Cair. Masp. 67030).

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653. JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS BEFORE A *PRAESES*

91·5×25·8 cm. A.D. 321

PLATE 5

This text almost certainly belongs to the archive of early fourth-century documents published by P. Jouguet in 1911 as *Papyrus de Théadelphie*.[1] In the extant text Theadelphia is not mentioned by name, but the name of the neighbouring Andromachis, the situation disclosed in the proceedings, the plaintiff's own name (he may be identified with the Arion, *tesserarius*, of several of the Theadelphia papyri) make it all but certain that his *origo* and that of the papyrus was Theadelphia. In addition to other resemblances we may note that P. Thead. 13, a record of proceedings held before the same *praeses* at Arsinoe some six months later than the date of **653**, offers very close resemblances in form. In our text, the community of Theadelphia, or a group of villagers acting through Arion, accuse the inhabitants of the

[1] The archive was seized by the authorities from the dealer who had acquired it (see Jouguet in *Archiv* III. 339); this text he must have managed to conceal or perhaps had already sold. I know of no other documents certainly belonging to the archive, apart perhaps from **659**.

neighbouring Andromachis before Q. Iper, the *praeses*, of interfering with and blocking the canal on which the life of Theadelphia depends and of reducing the village to a state of desolation. The claim appears to be made that only three inhabitants or taxpayers are left (though if Arion is one of the three and not merely their representative it is a different triad of survivors who plead the same case against different neighbours through an advocate in P. Thead. 16), and in the person of their advocate they conclude their case by offering to resign forthwith their land on the plain in question (where their opponents own a mere twenty arourae) provided their opponents take over their financial responsibilities together with the water and the land.[1] Several of the Theadelphia papyri witness to the desperate position of the village in these years (in which no doubt it was typical of many of the communities lying high on the desert fringe); but P. Thead. 20 may stand in a particularly close relation to **653**. In a petition to a *praeses* whose name is lost, the same Arion with two other villagers appeals to a previous decision whereby the inspectors of dikes and the *praepositus pagi* were ordered, in response to similar complaints, to find out the facts about the water-supply; this may well be one of the two decisions quoted in **653**.

Palaeographically **653** is of interest as the same hand wrote both the Greek and the Latin in a style that borrows some of the characteristic features of each;[2] only the Greek translation of the decisions of the *praeses* at the end of column ii is in a different hand. Our text is probably a copy of the proceedings made for the plaintiffs and kept in their archives; we may compare P. Thead. 16, a copy of an isolated speech of an advocate retained by the villagers and also concerned with alleged theft of their water. A little more than a third of column i is missing; column ii is intact. The papyrus was folded twenty-four times.

Col. i

[D(omino) n(ostro) Constantino Aug(usto) VI et Licinio no]b(ilissimo) Caes(are) I· cons(ulibus) die III nonas Iunias Παῦνι θ′ Arsinoit(um civitate) in secre[tario]

[*c.* 40 ll.] *κώμης τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου διὰ τοῦ πάροντος Ἀρίωνος ἐντυγχάνουσιν* et subiung[un]t

[*c.* 40 ll.]*α λόγῳ τῶν κήνσων· οὗτος δὲ μόνος ὑπολείπεται καὶ ἕτεροι δύο σὺν αὐτῷ παν*[. . .]

[*c.* 34 ll. *? ἐν τῇ ἐνο*]*ρ*[*ί*]*α ἐδάφη τε τούτων ἔτι τοίνυν παλαίαν πρὸς διώρυχα φέρουσαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον*

[*c.* 34 ll.] *καὶ λιθινὴν κατεσκεύασεν τὸ καλούμενον ῥῖθρον ἵνα δηλαδὴ διὰ τὴν*

[*c.* 34 ll.]*ειρι παραμυθίαν τῆς ἀρδίας ἀλλ᾽ ὁἱ ἀπὸ κώμης Ἀνδρομαχίδος τῆς ἐρημίας*

[*c.* 34 ll.] *. ονται καὶ ἀνατρέπουσιν τοὺς συνηγορουμένους· τά τε γὰρ ἑαυτῶν κτήνη φέρον-*

[*τα c.* 32 ll.]*λαιου προσχώνουσιν τὸ ῥῖθρον καὶ κέωσιν εὐμαρῶς εἰς ῥῖθρον τὰ ὕδατα ἐὐλαβ-*

[*ούμενοι c.* 27 ll. *τ*]*οῦ ἀρχαίου ἔθους τοῦτον ἔχοντος τὸν τύπον· δέομαι ἐπειδήπερ καὶ οὗτος ἀπὸ φυγῆς*

[*c.* 32 ll. *το*]*ύτους το*[*ὺ*]*ς προσχώσαντας τὸ στομαίον τῆς διώρυχος αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν ἀνα*

[ ]

[Q(uintus)] Iper v(ir) p(erfectissimus) praes(es) Aeg(ypti) Herc(uleae) d(ixit): [praepositu]s pagi et chomatepictae locorum eos quos cognoverit terra congesta

[1] This offer is perhaps more probably made by the defendants in the case: see note to l. 14.

[2] Another example of this practice is PSI. XIII. 1309, a report of a hearing before the *praeses Arcadiae*, assigned by the editor to the fifth or sixth century; there is a careful study of the hand in the introduction (facsimile in *Papiri greci delle collezioni italiane*, III. xxvi). Cf. also **702**.

[*c.* 41 ll.]ṭia iam iamque adigebunt eundem locum repurgare ut aqua
[*c.* 40 ll. L]eontiu(s) dixit *οἱ περιμένον⟨τες⟩ καὶ οἱ τούτου ἀδελφοὶ ὑπερκαθήμενοι ἡμῖν*

1. coss. P. 3. *ὑπολ.* P. 5. l. *ῥεῖθρον* and in 8, 9, 15, *ἵνα* P. 6. l. *ἀρδείας* 8. l. *προσχωνύουσιν, χέουσιν*; *ὕδατα* P., and in 16 and 17 10. l. *στομίον* 12. l. cognoverint 14. *ὑπερκ.* P.

Col. ii

καὶ εἴκοσι ἀρούρας μόνας κεκτημένοι ἐπὶ τοῦ πεδίου ἀποφράσ[σο]υσιν τὸ ῥῖθρον καὶ οὐκ ἐῶσιν εἰς ἡμᾶς
πέμπεσθαι τὰ ὕδατα· ἐπεὶ τοίνυν προσήκει τούτους ἢ συγχωρεῖν τὰ ὕδατα ἡμῶν ἡδέως [[*εχον*]] *ἀναδεχομένων τῶν εἴκο[σ]ι ἀρούρων τὰ τελέσματα ἢ δηλαδὴ ἐκείνων ἀποφρασσόντων τὰ ὕδατα ἔχειν τὴν ἡμετέραν γῆν καὶ ἐξιστάμεθα αὐτοῖς ἀπεντεῦθεν.*

Q(uintus) Iper v(ir) p(erfectissimus) praes(es) Aeg(ypti) Herc(uleae) d(ixit): praepositus pagi providebit quatenus hi adversus quos postulatur percepta sufficiente aqua juxta terram quam posside`n´t superfluam in terris susceptorum tuorum tradaṇt quo idem quoque possint terras ad se pertinentes inrigare.

(2nd hand) *α″ ὁ πραιπόσιτος τοῦ πάγου καὶ οἱ χωματεπίκται τῶν τόπων τούτους οὓς ἂν καταμαθοῖεν χώμασιν τὸν τόπον*
ἀποπεφρακέναι μετὰ πάσης εὐτονίας διὰ τάχαιως καταναγκασιουσιν τοῦτον τὸν τόπον ἀνακαθᾶραι ἵνα τὸ{υ} ὕδωρ
τὴν συνηθῆ εἴσροιαν ἔχειν δυνηθῇ.
β″ ὁ πραιπόσιτος τοῦ πάγου προνοήσαιται ὅπως αὐτοὶ καθ' ὧν ἡ ἐντυχεία γίγνεται δεξάμενοι τὰ ἀρκοῦντα
ὕδατα κατὰ τὴν γῆν ἣν κέκτηνται τὰ περιττὰ ὕδατα εἰς τὴν γῆν τῶν ὑπό σου συνηγορουμένων
παραδώσει ὅπως καὶ αὐτοὶ δυνηθῶσιν τὴν ἑαυτῶν γῆν ἀρδύειν.

23. l. *τάχους καταναγκάσουσιν* 25. l. *προνοήσεται* 26. *περιτ'τα* P. 27. l. *παραδῶσι, ἀρδεύειν*

12 sq. 'Q. Iper, *perfectissimus*, *praeses* of Aegyptus Herculia said: "the *praepositus pagi* and the dike inspectors of any localities when they shall find the place blocked up with mounds of earth shall take vigorous steps to see that the place is cleared as soon as possible in order that the water may flow in its usual channel". Leontius said: "these survivors and their brothers who keep a watch on us and who possess a mere twenty arourae on the plain are damming up the water and are preventing the water from flowing on to us. It is therefore only right and proper that our opponents should either let us have the water who will gladly take on ourselves the liability for the taxes on the twenty *arourae* or, of course if they insist on damming up the water, should take over our land; we are prepared to cede it to them forthwith". Q. Iper, *perfectissimus*, *praeses* of Aegyptus Herculia, said: "the *praepositus pagi* shall see to it that those against whom this charge is preferred shall, when they have drawn off sufficient water proportionately to the land they possess, send on what remains over to the land held by your clients that they too may be able to irrigate their own lands". (Translation).'

1. Other supplements of this line are possible, but that given above is the most likely in view of P. Thead. 13, l. 1 (also a report of proceedings held before Q. Iper in Arsinoe). For the date of the consulship of the Licinii see E. H. Kase, *A Papyrus Roll in the Princeton Collection*, pp. 32 f.
For the formula at the end of the line cf. P. Thead. 13, 1.
4. *ἐνο*]*ρ*[*ί*]*ᾳ*: suggested by Bell.

8. *ῥεῖθρον* is perhaps used of the channel of water that is run off from the canal.

14. The reference in this line is obscure. The complaint seems to be directed here, not so much against the inhabitants of a neighbouring village, as against Arion's brothers. Or is Leontius the advocate of the defendants? *περιμένον⟨τες⟩*, used of the survivors, and *ὑπερκαθήμενοι* ('spying on us') suggest that he is.

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654. MINUTES OF JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS

Oxyrhynchite nome. 31×25 cm. Fourth century A.D.

On the score of the handwriting this document is to be assigned to the first half of the fourth century. It deals with a case tried before Maximianus, *vir perfectissimus*, who is styled *iuridicus Aegypti*, not *Alexandreae*. This officer cannot be identified with the Iulius Maximianus known to have been *iuridicus* in A.D. 139/140 (M. *Chr.* 88; P. Fay. 203; *Aegyptus* IX. 285). In the surviving portion of the minute Apolinarius, who is perhaps a minor official of the Oxyrhynchite nome, introduces a linen weaver to testify on behalf of his apprentice, the plaintiff in this action. The latter, Paulus, who is actively engaged in the practice of linen-weaving though (probably) the term of his apprenticeship has not been attained, has been forced by certain builders with whom he is in close contact to drop his weaving and learn the building trade. The *iuridicus* rules that the strategus and logistes are to investigate the point of fact, and lays down the principle that if the plaintiff has completely learned his craft and is actively engaged in its practice, he is not to be transferred to another.

. . . . . .

]rusṣ [7]c̣[6]ṣ . up . [.] . . . [7] . c̣ivi[tat]e Oxurunch-

[itarum . .] . pago . c̣ivitat[is Oxur]unch[i]tarum [A]polinar[i]us dix(it):

[λινόυφο]ς̣ *τὴν τέχνην ἐστίν, σύνδ*[*ικον*] *δὲ εἶναι δεῖ τοῦ τὴν ἐργασίαν πληροῦν-*

[*τος· ἔσ*]*τ̣ιν γὰρ αὐτῷ σύνεργος Παῦλο*[ς] *οὗτος μαθήτης μὲν τυγχάνον, εἰς*

5 [*ἄσκησι*]*ν δὲ τῆς τέχνης ἀφεικόμενος. οὗτοι δὴ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ὡς οὐκ ὀλίγα*

[*ταῖς δημ*]*ο̣σ̣ίαις τυγχάνουσει χρείαις χρήσιμοι* [[*ο*]] *καὶ σὺ οὑμὸς δεσπότης συν-*

[*οῖδας. τ*]*ῷ γὰρ ἀναβολικῷ πλῖστα συντελοῦσειν, καὶ ὅσαπερ ἀπὸ τούτων ἀπερ-*

[*γάζεσθα*]*ι δεῖ. ἀλ⟨λ'⟩ οἱ οἰκόδομοι δικοῦσει τῆς τοσαύτης ἐ̣π̣ειγούσ̣η̣ς χρείας*

[*ὡς ἀργοὺς*] *τούτους μόνον συνορᾶν. τὸν γὰρ δὴ βοηθούμενον οἰκ*[*ό*]*δομον*

10 [*ἐῶσι*(?) *κ*]*αὶ σπουδάσζο̣υ̣σ̣ειν λινόυφον τυγχάνοντ' ἀπράγμονα τολμοῦσ̣τ̣ες*

π̣α̣ρα[*ν*]*ομότατον. τῆς μὲν γὰρ τέχνης ἣν μεμάθηκεν ἀποσπώσειν,*

ἑτέρα[*ν*] *δὲ τ̣ὴν τῶν οἰκοδόμων ἐκδειδάξαι βούλονται. ἐπὶ γυναίο̣υ̣ τῇ οἰκείᾳ*

φυλαχθῆναι δεῖ αὐτὸν {*προσήκει*} *εἶνα μηδεμίαν ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκο*[[.]]*δόμων πάσ-*

χοι βίαν. προνοεῖσθαι τούτου τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τὸν λογιστὴν ἀξειοῖ.

15 Maximiaṇụ[s] v(ir) p(erfectissimus) iuridicus Aeg(upti) dix(it):

ὁ λογιστὴς καὶ σ̣[*τ*]*ρατηγὸς προνοήσονται εἰς τ̣ὰ ὑπ*[*ὸ τού*]*τ̣*[*ων κατηγορημένα εἰ τὴν*]

τέχνην ἐκμημάθηκ̣ε̣ν̣ κ̣αὶ ἤδη ἐν τ̣α̣ύ̣τ̣ῃ τῇ ἐργασίᾳ ἐσ̣τ̣ὶ̣ν εἰς ἑτέραν μὴ

μεταφέρεσθαι τέχνην.

4. l. *τυγχάνων* 5. l. *ἀφικόμενος* 6. l. *τυγχάνουσι* 7. l. *πλεῖστα, συντελοῦσι* 8. l. *δικαιοῦσι*? see note 10. l. *σπουδάζουσι, τολμοῦντες* 11. l. *παρανομώτατον, ἀποσπῶσι* 12. l. *ἐκδιδάξαι, οἰκίᾳ* 13. l. *ἵνα* 14. l. *ἀξιοῖ* 17. l. *ἐκμεμάθηκεν.*

'. . . of the city of Oxyrhynchus, Apolinarius said: "He is a linen weaver by craft, but is bound to be an advocate for a man fulfilling his trade. For he has with him as fellow worker Paul (present here in court), who is his pupil and has come to him to gain practice in his craft. You too, my master, are well aware that these men, by their own activity, are of no small usefulness to the public services. They contribute much to the *anabolicum*, and you know all that has to be manufactured by them. But in this pressing need the builders take on themselves to regard these men only as idlers (?). They pass over the builder who benefits from their help, and are bent on doing a great wrong to a man who is a peaceful linen weaver. For they are tearing him away from the craft he has learned, and wish to teach him another, the builders' craft. He has to be guarded in his wife's house so that no violence may be done to him by the builders. He requests the strategus and logistes to attend to his case."

'Maximianus, vir perfectissimus, iuridicus Aegypti, said: "The strategus and the logistes will take care that in regard to these persons' charges, if he has learned this craft and is actively engaged in this trade, he is not to be transferred to another."'

2. After *pago* presumably a figure.

3. *τοῦ τὴν ἐργασίαν πληροῦντος*: i.e. Paulus, his pupil, and plaintiff in the action. It is possible that l. 5 contains an admission that Paulus has not reached the conclusion of his apprenticeship and ⟨*οὔπω*⟩ should be inserted before *ἀφικόμενος*.

8–9. *δικοῦσει* of the papyrus may be a mistake for either *δικαιοῦσι* or *ἀδικοῦσι*. For our restoration [*ὡς ἀργούς*] (or perhaps [*ἀργούς*] simply) we choose the former alternative, and take *συνορᾶν* in its more normal meaning, not the special sense seen in, for example, P. Oxy. 940, 2.

9. *βοηθούμενον*: in a general sense, which would be better given by *βοηθησόμενον* (i.e. the unemployed building hand).

10. *τολμοῦ̣σ̣τ̣ε̣ς*: the word has been altered, probably from *τολμοῦσαι* with intention to make it into *τολμοῦντες* (a common fourth-century form), but the correction was not completed.

14. *στρατηγὸν κτλ.* According to P. Leipzig ined. in W. *Chr.*, p. 67, the title of *στρατηγός* was still in use in A.D. 369/70.

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655. LAND REGISTER

24·5 × 13·3 cm. First half of fourth century.

Though it consists only of the lower part of a column, this fragment is of interest because our evidence for the way in which the radical changes in land tenure occasioned by Diocletian's reforms took place in Egypt is none too extensive.[1] Thus the proportions of private (*ἰδιωτική*) land to public (*δημοσία*)[2] are 12,557 to 2,486 arourae, and there are other categories of private land not included under *ἰδιωτική*. Unfortunately there is nothing to indicate the provenance (though it may be observed that most of the early Byzantine papyri from the Crawford collection come from the Hermopolite nome) or to fix the date.[3] The sixth indiction

[1] It is usefully assembled and discussed by A. Segrè in Appendix I to his article 'The Byzantine Colonate' in *Traditio*, V (1947), pp. 103 f.

[2] This is the latest instance of the use of *δημοσία* for public land. As Segrè points out (op. cit., p. 116, n. 69), in the Byzantine age it is used of land belonging to the cities; it is very unlikely that it carries this meaning here.

[3] The fact that both systems of denoting the numbers 1,000–9,000 are used, that of placing a crest or curl above the letter and that of putting a stroke below, would point to a date near the middle of the century (see H. J. M. Milne —T. C. Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus*, pp. 62–4); for an earlier instance, however, of the second practice see **616**.

of l. 5 cannot be earlier than A.D. 317/18 (see E. H. Kase, *A Papyrus Roll in the Princeton Collection*) and as it is described as *νέα* is not likely to be so early.[1]

On the verso are two columns in a smaller, more cursive hand, but quite possibly by the same writer with similar lists of different types of land, recording possibly (in col. ii, ll. 9 f.) how much of each category was sown. Of column i little remains except for some figures, apart from l. 1 which reads: *O*[..]. ọνδ[ι]κ( ) *ἀπὸ ἰδίας* (*ἀρουρ.*) *οβηλο*. Column ii is given below as it stands.

Recto

. . . . . .

[ ]υ . [ ]

μ̣[. .] . [. . .]ιδ̣ τ̣ό̣π̣[ου . . . . .]μ̣ι̣[ ]

ἐστὶ δὲ

. [. . . . .]*νται τοῦ ιδ τ̣ό̣π̣ου ἀκολούθως τοῖς συσταθεῖσι*

5 κ̣[. . . .]α̣[. .] *ἐ̣π̣ὶ τῆς ϛ″ νέας ἰνδικτίονος κανόνος* (*ἀρουρῶν*) (*μυρίαι*) *α,ϛυ̣λ̣θ̣.*

οὕτως

ἰ̣[*δι*]*ω*[*τι*]*κῆς* (*ἀρ.*) (*μυρ.*) *α,*Βψνζ *δημοσίας* (*ἀρ.*) ,Βυ̣π̣ϛ

[*ἰ*]*δ̣ιωκτήτου* (*ἀρ.*) *κγϐ ἀμπέλ*(*ου*) (*ἀρ.*) *υμ*δ*η*

[.] . . λ̣[.] . (*ἀρ.*) λ[.]d ιϛ λο γ(*ίν.*)

Verso

Col. ii

(Traces of 3 lines)

Ὀουε̣ν̣δι(*κάτης*) *ιδη* [. . . .] . . . . . *ϐ ηλο*

5 [*ἀ*]*μ̣πέλ̣ου α*[. . . .] . [. . . .] *ιϛ΄*

[. . .]΄ λ̣ο̣(*ιπαὶ*) (*ἀρτάβαι*) (*μυρ.*) *α̣΄*. .] . [. . .] . . *κ* . *χ̣*

γ(*ίν.*) *ὁμοῦ τοῦ σπα̣*[*ρ*(*έντος*) (*ἀρουρ.*) (*μυρ.*) *β* ’Γρνδ

ὧν

νήσ(*ου*) (*ἀρουρ.*) λζ ιηλο *α* . . [.] . *ϛ* . δ ḍϛηιη (*μυρ.*) *α,*Δψλαd

10 *ἄμ*(*μου?*) (*ἀρουρ.*) υλL ηιϛλο *παρ*(*ὰ*) ρλα λο

πατρινης (*ἀρουρ.*) υνη λοξ *πα̣ρ̣*(*α*) *β* Τ *ϐ* ηλο ξο

ἀμπέλ(*ου*) (*ἀρουρ.*) *χ ϐ ξ* [[. .]] [*π*]*α̣ρ*(*ὰ*) . *γ* L ιϛλο

ὀβενδικ(*άτης*) *ἰδ*( ) (*ἀρουρ.*) *τλδ* L *ήις΄ ξ* . [.]*μ̣ ιη ϐ η̣λ̣ο̣*

ἀμ̣π̣έλ(*ου*) (*ἀρουρ.*) *ϵ ϐ* ιϛλο *π̣αρ*(*ὰ*) . . *ϐ* λοξ

15 , λο(*ιπ.*) (*μυρ.*) (*ἀρουρ.*) *β* ’Γφνϵ *γ̣ί̣*(*ν.*) (*μυρ.*) λ̣γ ’Γϛ΄.

Recto. 4. *τόπου*: this word is fully preserved, but what I have given as the first three letters is composed of a series of almost identical strokes (cf. also l. 2). We should expect *πάγου* but this is not really a possible reading. We know that the pagarchy had superseded the toparchy in the Arsinoite by A.D. 308 (see A. E. R. Boak, in *Mélanges Maspero*, II, p. 125: in general Wilcken, *GZ.*, p. 76), but it is not unlikely that elsewhere the old name lingered as did that of strategus.

7. This shows that Segrè's statement (op. cit., pp. 123–4) that *γῆ ἰδιόκτητος* had disappeared at the end of

[1] Preisigke, *WB.*, s.v. *νέος*, cites no instance earlier than the fourth decade of the fourth century; the attribution of CPR. 42 to the third century is clearly a slip, as the editor (p. 296) places it in the fourth, and there is nothing to establish a more precise date.

the third and the beginning of the fourth century is too sweeping. It also confirms the editors of P. Princeton III. 134 (Theadelphia: A.D. 322) in reading *ἰδιο(κτήτου)* rather than emending to *ἰδιω(τικοῦ)*.

9. There is no trace of ink after the abbreviation we have given as *γ(ίν.)* (the letter has largely vanished in a lacuna); either the total was omitted or continued in the next column.

11. *πατρινης*. The reading is certain and the most plausible solution is Bell's, who proposes to read *πατρι⟨μωνια⟩νῆς*, a variant of *πατριμωνάλιος* (see P. Ant. I. 33, 2). The term *οὐσιακὴ γῆ* is found as late as A.D. 330 (CPR. 19).

Verso. 4. Latin *v* is rendered either by *ου* or *β*; the word here is clearly the same as that in l. 13, and the peculiar spelling may be attributed to the scribe's hesitation between *ου* and *β*. We can only suggest that the word intended is *vindicata*, though what *terra vindicata* is, whether *in privatam* or *a privata*, is obscure. The amount is so small that it is probably a relatively unimportant category, perhaps land whose exact status was still *sub iudice*. If a different spelling of the same word is to be recognized in the line of col. i quoted in the introduction, the land is—contrary to what we should expect—*vindicata a privata*.

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656. DECLARATION OF LAND FOR THE CENSUS

Arsinoite nome. 23·9×25 cm. Jan.–Aug. A.D. 300.

A declaration of land for the census of A.D. 297 made by Aurelius Kamoutis of Arsinoe to Iulius Septimius Sabinus, *censitor* of the Arsinoite nome. This declaration is an almost exact parallel (including many of the same officers) to those published by A. E. R. Boak in *Ét. de Pap.* II. 8 ff., and *Ét. de Pap.* III. 1 ff. from the archive of Aurelius Isidorus of Karanis: cf. also P. Thead. 54 and 55 (re-edited by Boak, *Ét. de Pap.* III. 18 ff.); W. *Chr.* 228; P. Cornell 19, 20, and 20 A (= W. *Chr.* 229); P. Strasbourg 152. The date of our document falls slightly later (between Jan. 1st, when the consuls of A.D. 300 entered office, l. 1, and 1st Thoth, the start of the new regnal year, l. 16) than these parallels, and no doubt was made during the tour of the census party to Philoteris, i.e. to that part of the *μερίς* of Themistes lying west of Theadelphia. An important piece of new information is the explicit description in l. 7 of the three *iuratores* who form part of the census party as *βουλευταί*: the new census procedure throws an important share of responsibility on the decentralized municipal senates. A few other difficulties still remaining in Boak's republication of P. Thead. 54 and 55 are elucidated by our text.

Ὑ[πατείας τῶν κυρίων] ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιαν̣οῦ ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισά̣[ρων τὸ γ⁻
[Ἰουλίῳ] Σεπτιμίῳ Σαβείνῳ κηνσίτορι
[παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Καμ]ούτεως Καήτεως ἀπὸ ἀμφόδου Γυμνασίου τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτ̣[ου νομοῦ.
Ἀκο̣λ̣ούθως τῷ θείῳ [π]ροστάγμ̣ατι τῶν [δ]εσποτῶν ἡμ[ῶ]ν̣ Διοκλητ̣ιανοῦ καὶ Μ̣α̣ξ̣[ιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν
καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων
5 φάνερόν σοι ποιῶ κεκτῆσθαί με περὶ κώμην Φιλωτ̣έριδα ἑβδόμης ἐνά̣τ̣[ης τοπαρχίας Θεμίστου
μερίδος τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ καὶ παρειληφέναι τῆς κτήσεως
μου τῆς ἐν τῇ κώμῃ τὰ μέτρα τῶν ἀρουρῶν, μετρησάντων Ἀφροδισίου καὶ [Παυλείνου
γεωμετρῶν, παρόντων καὶ ὑπογραφόντων Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ Κοπρῆ καὶ
Ἥρωνος τῶν τριῶν βουλ[ε]υ̣τ̣ῶν ἰουρατόρων καὶ Κοπριᾶ βο̣ηθοῦ δεκαπρώτω[ν τῆς τοπαρχίας
καὶ Πελλαωρίωνος (?) ὁριοδίκτου, ἡνίκα περιῆ⟨ν⟩, καὶ Ἀμμωνίου
Πολέμωνος ὁμοίως ὁριοδίκτου, χωρία ὡς ὑποτέτακται [ἐπὶ τῆς

ι´ σφραγῖδος ἐν τόπῳ Τκὲς λεγομένῳ ἀπὸ κοινωνίας Ἀφεγύρου τὸ ἐπιβάλλ[ον μοι μέρος βασιλικῆς γῆς σπορᾶς ι . ʃ καὶ ι . ʃ καὶ . ʃ ἀρουρῶν . . . . . .

ὧν γίτονες ἀπὸ μὲν ἀνατολῶν χέρσος γῆ ἀδέσποτος δι᾽ ὅλου, ἀπὸ δὲ δ̣υ̣σ̣μ̣ῶ̣[ν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς

ια´ σφραγῖδος ἐν τόπῳ Πεσούη λεγομένῳ ἰδιωτικῆς γῆς σπορίμης ἀρ̣υ̣ρ[ῶν ἧς γίτονες ἀπὸ μὲν ἀνατολῶν Πάννεως κτῆσις, ἀπὸ δὲ δυσμῶν Λε . . . ν̣[καὶ ἐπὶ τ̣[ῆς] αὐτῆς σφραγῖδος ἐν τόπῳ Πλῆβον λεγομένῳ ἰδιωτικῆς γῆς σπορίμης ἀ̣[ρουρῶν οὗ γείτονες ἀπὸ μὲν ἀνατολῶν Κοννεῦτος κτῆσις, ἀπὸ δὲ δυσμῶν Π . . τ̣[

Καὶ ὄμνυμι τύχην καὶ νείκην {καὶ νείκην} τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν τῶν ἀνεικ[ήτων βασιλέων ἀληθῆ με τὴν ἀπογραφὴν πεποιῆσθαι.

Ἔτους ιϛ ʃ καὶ ιε ʃ καὶ ηʃ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστ̣[ῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων (Month, day).

γείνονται ὁ̣μ̣ο̣ῦ̣ βασιλικῆς γῆς σπορᾶς ι . ʃ κα[ὶ ι . ʃ καὶ . ʃ ἀροῦραι . . . . . .

ἰδιωτικῆς γῆς σπορίμης ἐν διαφόροις τόπ̣ο̣[ις ἀροῦραι . . . . . .

(2nd hand) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Κάμουτις ἀπεγρ(αψάμην) τὰς προδηλούμενας ἀρούρας καὶ παρέλαβον τὴν μέτρησιν ὡς πρ̣ό̣κ̣ι̣τ̣[α]ι̣ [ὀμόσας τὸν Σεβάσμιον ὅρκον. (3rd hand) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀφροδίσιος γεωμέτρης ἅμα Παυλείνῳ συνγεωμέτρῃ ἐμέτρησα τὰς προδεδηλουμένας ἀρούρας. (4th hand) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Παυλεῖνος γεωμέτρης συνεμέτρη[σα. (Presumably 5th hand) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀπολλώνιος βου(λευτὴς) ἰουράτωρ παρήμην τῇ μετρήσει.

(6th hand) Αὐρήλιος Ἥρων βου(λευτὴς) ἰουράτωρ παρ̣ή̣μ̣η̣ν̣ τῇ μετρήσει. (7th hand) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Κοπρῆς βου(λευτὴς) ἰουράτωρ παρήμ̣η̣ν̣ τ̣[ῇ] μ̣[ετρήσει. (Presumably 8th hand) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Κοπριᾶς βοηθὸς δεκαπρώτων τῆς τοπαρχίας ἐπέγνων τὴν μέτρησιν.

(9th hand) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀμμώνιος ὁριοδίκτης συνεπέδειξα τὰς προκειμένας ἀρού̣[ρας καὶ οὐδὲν παρέλιπον.

(10th hand) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Πλουτίων διδάσκ̣α̣λ̣ο̣ς παρ᾽ ἐμοὶ ἐ̣τ̣ε̣λ̣έ̣σ̣θ̣η̣.

(11th hand) *Iul. Sept. Sabinus cens(itor) acc(epi) et sub[(scripsi) libellis.*

'In the third consulship of our lords Constantius and Maximianus, most illustrious Caesars. To Iulius Septimius Sabinus, census officer, from Aurelius Kamoutis son of Kaetis, of the Gymnasium quarter in the Arsinoite nome. In accordance with the imperial decree of our masters Diocletian and Maximian, Augusti, and Constantius and Maximian, illustrious Caesars, I declare to you that I am in possession of the lands set out below in the neighbourhood of the village of Philoteris in the seventh and ninth toparchy of the division of Themistes in the said nome, and that I have taken the measurements of the arourae which form my property in that village; the land was measured by Aphrodisius and Paulinus, surveyors, in the presence of and recorded above the signatures of Apollonius, Kopres and Heron, all three senators and *iuratores*, of Koprias assistant to the *decaproti* of the toparchy and of Pellaorion (?) boundary inspector, during his lifetime, and Ammonius, boundary-inspector, similarly of the division of Polemon. The lands are as follows: in the 10th allotment, in the place called Tkes, the portion falling to my share from my partnership with Aphegyros, . . . arourae of royal land under seed in the . . . year, adjacent to which are on the east dry ownerless land throughout, on the west . . .; in the 11th allotment, in the place called Pesoue, . . . arourae of private land under seed, adjacent to which are on the east the property of Panneus, on the west . . .; and in the same allotment, in the place called Plebon, . . . arourae of private land under seed, adjacent to which are on the east the property of Konneus, on the west . . . ; and I swear by the fortune and victory of our lords the unconquered kings

that I have made a true declaration. Year 16, 15, and 8 of our lords Diocletian and Maximian, Augusti, and Constantius and Maximinian, most illustrious Caesars (Month, day).

'Total . . . arourae of royal land sown in the . . . year, . . . arourae of private land under seed in different places.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Kamoutis, have registered the aforesaid arourae, have taken the measurements as stated, and sworn the imperial oath.'

(3rd hand) 'I, Aurelius Aphrodisius, surveyor, in company with Paulinus my colleague as surveyor, have measured the aforesaid arourae.'

(4th hand) 'I, Aurelius Paulinus, surveyor, assisted in the measurement.'

(5th hand) 'I, Aurelius Apollonius, senator, *iurator*, was present at the measurement.'

(6th hand) 'I, Aurelius Heron, senator, *iurator*, was present at the measurement.'

(7th hand) 'I, Aurelius Kopres, senator, *iurator*, was present at the measurement.'

(8th hand) 'I, Aurelius Koprias, assistant to the *decaproti* of the toparchy, scrutinized the measurement.'

(9th hand) 'I, Aurelius Ammonius, boundary inspector, helped to point out the aforesaid arourae, and have omitted nothing.'

(10th hand) 'The declaration was completed before me, Aurelius Ploution, registrar.'

(11th hand) 'I, Iulius Septimius Sabinus, have received and signed the declarations.'

3. *ἀπὸ ἀμφόδου Γυμνασίου*: the owner is resident in Arsinoe.

P. Thead. 54, 2 should clearly be restored from this as *ἀπὸ [ἀμφόδο]υ Γυμνασίου [τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου νομοῦ]*, as suggested by Jouguet the first editor.

7. *τῶν τριῶν βουλ[ε]υτῶν*: cf. introduction. This finally settles Boak's doubts over the abbreviation *βου-* in *Ét. de Pap.* III. 8–9 (cf. ll. 20–1 of our text) and the mistaken *κουιουράτωρ* of the original editors of P. Thead. 54, 21; 55, 17; copied by J. Schwartz in P. Strasb. 152. There need be no problem as to why the description is omitted in the body of some of the declarations and inserted in the subscriptions, for these texts show considerable minor deviations from the *pro forma*.

Κοπριᾶ: probably the name to be read in P. Thead. 54, 22 (i.e. *Κοπριᾶς*); 55, 48, and restored in P. Thead. 54, l. 8; 55, l. 4.

The restoration of the end of the line (between 50–60 letters seem to be required) has been based on P. Thead. 55: to restore after *τοπαρχίας, καὶ Ἀμμωνίου* e.g. *Θεμίστης καὶ*] | *Πολέμωνος ὁμοίως ὁριοδίκτου* will hardly fill up the space. Pellaorion (if that is the right reading of the name) seems to have dropped out (Boak suggests he died in office) and to have been replaced by Ammonius. The beginning of l. 8 of our text suggests that the sphere of competence of the *ὁριοδίκτης* was a division of the nome, which would be new and interesting if the inference could be relied on; in view of the restoration, however, and the appearance of a quite different *ὁριοδίκτης* in P. Thead. 54 (also for Themistes), and what is previously known of the *ὁριοδίκτης* (cf. Boak, *Ét. de Pap.* III. 7; P. Merton, 31, 4 note) the inference must be rejected. Perhaps no more is intended than that a particular *ὁριοδίκτης* was seconded to this census party in each *μερίς*.

On basis of our text P. Thead. 55 may be restored to read in l. 5 [*Πολέμωνος ὁμοίως ὁριοδίκτου χωρία ὡς ὑποτέτακται*] and in l. 19 [*Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος, not Πελλαωρίων.*

8. *χωρία*: cf. Wilcken in *Archiv*, XII. 244. After *ὑποτέτακται* an empty space.

9. [*σπορᾶς*: the year of the sowing depends on the reading in l. 17 which cannot be precisely determined—*γ, δ, ε, ϛ, ζ* are all possible.

10. *ἀνατολῶν . . . δυσμῶν*; according to Wilcken's interesting observation in *Archiv*, XII. 244, delimitation by two points of the compass is Roman practice (*duos vicinos proximos*, Ulpian, *Digest.* 50, 15, 4).

14. *οὗ γείτονες*: *τόπος* is presumably the antecedent to *οὗ*.

22. *συνεπέδειξα*: not in Preisigke, *WB.* but cf. LSJ. The choice of verb is perhaps due to Ammonius' acting as substitute. The *ε* is quite clear. Cf. *ἐπέδειξα* in P. Thead. 54, 23. Should not *ἐπέδειξα* therefore be read in Boak's texts (Nos. 8, l. 19; 9, 20; 11, 19)?

657. SWORN DECLARATION

12·5×26 cm. A.D. 323–4.

Annious, a senator of Arsinoopolis and in charge of the collection of wine for the *annona militaris* (for the appointment of this officer by the Senate see P. Oxy. 2114), makes a sworn return of the amounts collected to the *exactor* or, as he still designated here, the strategus. There is no precise parallel to this text to my knowledge; but it closely resembles in form P. Strasb. 45 (a return made by *sitologi* in A.D. 312); for the significance of the procedure see E. Seidl, *Der Eid*, II. 66.

The papyrus is from a *τόμος συγκολλησιμός* and traces of a preceding document are visible on the right. The verso was used, probably not much later, for an account of expenditure in *solidi* and talents rendered to a landlord (*γεοῦχος*). Payments are to individuals for unspecified purposes; among the names are Sambas, Eulogius, and Minnarus. The hand is not unlike that of many of the accounts in the Theophanes archive. The text on the recto has been badly discoloured by dirt and damp down the centre.

Γεροντίῳ στρατηγῷ Ἀρσι(νοίτου)
παρὰ Ἀννιῶτος βουλ(ευτοῦ) ἐπιμελ(ητοῦ) οἴνου·
ὁμολογῶ ὀμνὺς τὴν τῶν κυρ(ίων)
ἡμῶν αὐτοκρατόρων σεβαστῶν ⟨τύχην⟩
παριληφέναι καὶ νῦν παρὰ τῶν ἐ-
γγεγραμμένων ἀπὸ γενήμ(ατος) [τοῦ] ι[. (ἔτους)]
[οἴ]νου ξ(έστας) Ἰταλ(ικοὺς) (μυρ.) α ⳾ τις ὢν πολιτ[ῶν] ξ(έσται) Ἰτ[αλ(ικοὶ) . .
[ξ(έσται) Ἰ]τ[αλ(ικοὶ) (μυρ.) α Γρ κωμοκατοίκων
[οὓς] καὶ διαδώσω ἐκ πλήρους τῷ . [
[Ὀμν]ύω καὶ ἐπερω(τηθεὶς) ὡμολόγησα.
ἔστι δέ
[πα]ραλή[μψε]ως ιβ∫ ἰνδ[ι]κ(τίονος)
Ἀυρ(ήλιος) . α [. .] Σαραπίων(ος) ξ(έστ.) [
Ἀμμώνιος ὁλο β(ενε)φ(ικιάριος) ξ(έστ.) [
. . ιδονικος ἐξηγ(ητής) ξ(έστ.) [
Ἀλων . . . Ἡρωνίν(ου) ξ(έστ.) [
Ἀνατόλιος Ἀμμίμωνος ξ(έστ.) [
Ἁρποκρατίαινα καὶ Ἥρων καὶ
[Ἀσ]κληπιάδη[ς] ξ(έστ.) [
Ἀμμώνιο[ς . .] . ωτος ξ(έστ.) [
Βουκόλος Χα . λ . ει (ου) ξ(έστ.) [
Γερόντιος Δίου ξ(έστ.) [
Γερόντιος Ἀμμωνίου ξ(έστ.) [
Γερόντιος Χ . ποχ( ) ξ(έστ.) [

(2nd hand) Ἀνιγ

5. l. *παρειληφέναι*

'To Gerontius, strategus of the Arsinoite nome from Annious, senator, overseer of the wine supply. I hereby admit swearing by the fortune of our lords the Emperors and Augusti that I have just now collected from the undermentioned from the crop of the — year 17,816 Italian *sextarii* of wine, from citizens — Italian *sextarii* and from residents in the villages 13,170 Italian *sextarii*, the which I will distribute in full. . . . I take the oath and in reply to the formal question give my assent. (*In detail:* (*names*).'

1. This Gerontius is no doubt identical both with the Gerontius strategus of the Arsinoite of S.B. 4423 (fourth century: undated) and with the Aurelius Gerontius, στρ(ατηγὸς) Ἀ( ) of P. Amh. 138 (A.D. 326). The identification had already been made by V. Martin (*Archiv* VI, p. 163), but doubted by H. Henne (*Les Stratèges*, p. 58, n. 2, p. 95); now the near coincidence in date between this text and the Amherst papyrus settles the question.

4. The emperors must be Constantine and Licinius; the document was therefore drawn up before the news of the former's victory at Chrysopolis reached Egypt.

7. The symbol after α is puzzling; if it is not an ordinal with an apostrophe to indicate a thousand (it might conceivably be for ϛ', though it does not resemble the following stigma), it must express a fraction of a myriad. In the latter case, it is probably a variant of the symbol for ⅔.

πολιτ[ῶν. This usefully settles the meaning of κωμοκατοικῶν in l. 8 and confirms Wilcken's suggestion (*GZ*. 315, n. 2) that the latter are the residents (κατοικοῦντες) in a city or its territory as distinct from the *cives*. The distinction can hardly be between the inhabitants of the *civitas* and those of its *territorium* since in a papyrus quoted by Wilcken (loc. cit.) occurs the phrase κωμητῶν καὶ κωμοκατοίκων.

12. There is no room even for an abbreviated ἀπό before παραλήμψεως; but the space between this line and the one preceding is greater than normal and ἀπό *vel sim.* may have stood there.

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658. PETITION TO A PREFECT

18·5 × 18 cm. Early fourth century.

Of this petition some 10 to 15 letters (if the supplements in ll. 2 and 5 are approximately right) are missing from each line of the only surviving column. The petitioner is a *praepositus*, i.e. almost certainly a *praepositus pagi* (for these officials see A. E. R. Boak, 'The Praepositus Pagi in Egypt', in *Mélanges Maspero*, II, p. 125) and the ground of complaint seems to have been occasioned by Diocletian's reform of the taxation system, and the person complained of, the comarch. The imperial edict to which reference is made is most probably that reflected in P. Cair. Boak I.

[τῶι διασημο]τάτωι ἡγεμόνι
[? Ἡρκουλίας] Αἰγύπ̣τ(ου) Π̣[. . . . . .] . ων̣ πραιπόσιτος
[— πάγου] χαίρειν·
[ἡγ]εμὼν κύριε ἐκ θείου προστάγματος
5 [τῶν κυρίων ἡ]μῶν αὐτοκρατόρων τε καὶ καισάρων
[δια]γνωσθῆναι τῇ ⟨σῇ⟩ ἀνδρείᾳ τῆς πατριμου-
[ναλιας . . . . οὐ]σ̣ιακῆς ⟨γῆς⟩ ἔτι τε καὶ ὃ οὖν δι[κ]αίαν κατα
[κώ]μῃ ἀρουρηδοῦ κ[α]ὶ̣ ἀνδρισμοῦ
[ ] . ε̣ι̣ . ᾳ̣ς μετακαλ[. . .] . ε̣ . [. . .]ο̣μ̣[.]ᾳ̣
10 [? ἐκ]ᾰ̣σ̣[τ]η̣ς κώμης κ[ώμ]ᾳ̣ρχ[ο]ς τοῦ αὐτοῦ

[ ] . ι̣σ̣αι τῶν γνω[σ]τ̣[ή]ρων καὶ ἀπαι-
[τητῶν ? κατὰ τὸ θε]ῖον βρέουιον ε[.]τ̣ . κ̣α̣τ̣᾽ ἄνδρα ὡς
[? ὑπέτ]α̣ξα ταύτῃ μου τῇ ἀναφορᾷ ἵν᾽ εἶ
. . .

1. The prefect's name must have been a short one, unless (which is improbable) it stood on a previous line or projected far into the margin. Possibly [*Αἰλίῳ Ποπλίῳ*, prefect in A.D. 299 (see O. W. Reinmuth, *Prefect of Egypt*, p. 139) should be supplied; if this is right, **658** would be the earliest evidence for the existence of the *praepositus pagi* (see Boak, op. cit.), not found elsewhere before A.D. 307–8.

6. Alternatively, *τῆς ⟨τῷ⟩ πατρί μου [ὑπαρχούσης.*

8. *ἀνδρισμοῦ*: this word is only cited in Preisigke, *WB.*, from two Byzantine papyri of the eighth century. Here it clearly is used for the *capitatio* of the Diocletianic reform.

12. *ἐ[σ]τ̣ί* is an obvious and possible reading, but difficult to construe.

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659. PETITION TO THE *PRAESES*

19·3×26·5 cm. A.D. 322.

The writer of this petition is already known from P. Thead. and the papyrus itself may well have been part of the same find which became separated from the bulk of the documents. At the bottom of the petition is the *subscriptio* of the *praeses* with the stereotyped reply.

Σαβ[ιν]ι̣[αν]ῷ̣ι τῷ διασημοτάτῳ ἡγεμόνι Μερκουριανῆς Αἰγύπ[του]
παρὰ Ἀρίωνος Διοσκόρου ἀπὸ κώμης Θεαδελφείας τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου νομοῦ.
προσέταξέν σου τὸ μεγαλεῖον, δεσπότα ἡγεμών, κατὰ θεῖον πρόσταγμα μηδέ-
να ὑπεραιτηθῆναι ἀλλ᾽ ἕκαστον ὑπαντᾶν πρὸς τὰ ἴδια βάρη·
ἐπεὶ τοίνυν συνεβίωσα γυναικὶ Εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἐτεκνοποιησάμην ἐξ αὐ-
τῆς καὶ αὐτή τε ἅμα τοῖς τέκνοις τὸν βίον μετήλλαξαν· ἐπεὶ τοίνυν
οἱ πράκτηρες ἐπὶ τόπων καταφρονοῦντες τῆς μετριότητός μου καὶ
ἀπραγμοσύνης ὁμοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ γήρους καὶ τῆς ἀτεκνείας μου ἐπέρ-
χονταί μοι βιάσασθαί με βουλόμενοι τῆς γῆς τοῦ πενθεροῦ μου ἕνεκεν
τοῦ μηδεμίαν μετουσίαν ἔχοντός μου πρὸς αὐτὸν· διὰ τοῦτο δέομαι καὶ
παρακαλῶ τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς ὅπως οἰκτείρῃς μου τὸ γῆρας καὶ τὴν κατα-
λαβοῦσάν με συμφορὰν τῶν ἀπογενομένων μου τέκνων καὶ κελεύ-
σῃς δι᾽ εὐτονωτάτης σου ὑπογραφῆς δι᾽ οὗ ἐὰν δοκιμάσῃς κωλυθῆναι
τὴν γινομένην κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ βίαν ἐπὶ τόπων ἵνα δυνηθῶ ὑπαντᾶν
πρὸς τὰ ἴδια βάρη τῆς γῆς μου καὶ διὰ παντὸς τῇ τύχῃ σου χάριτας
ὁμολογῆσαι. διευτύχει.

(2nd hand) Ἀρείων ἐπιδέδωκα· Ἰσίδωρος ἀ(πὸ) τ̣(ῆς) α(ὐτῆς) πόλ(εως) ἔγρ(αψα) ὑ(πὲρ) αὐτοῦ φ[άσ]κοντος
μὴ εἰδέ-
ναι γρ(άμματα).

(3rd hand) Ἐπὶφ κ
οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ ὁ πραιπόσιτος τοῦ
πάγου τίνα χρῆ μεθοδεύεσθαι
ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς γῆς εὐσεβῶν εἰσφο-
ρῶν. κολλ(ήματος) ρκ΄ τόμ(ου) α΄.

4. αλλ᾽ P 7. l. *πράκτορες* 14. ϊνα P 17. ϊσιδ. P

'To Sabinianus, the most illustrious *praeses* of Aegyptus Herculia, from Arion son of Dioscorus from the village of Theadelphia in the Arsinoite nome. Your mightiness has ordered, lord *praeses*, in accordance with the divine order, that no one should be subjected to undue demands but that each man should meet his own burdens. Now I lived with my wife Irene and begot children by her, and she with her children departed this life. Now the local collectors, in contempt of my meek and unobtrusive character and of my age and childlessness no less are attacking me and wishing to do me violence in respect of my father-in-law's land on the ground that I am not in partnership with him. That is why I pray and beseech your virtue to pity my old age and the disaster of my children's death that has overtaken me and give instructions most stringent in your reply with the result that with your approval a stop may be put to these local acts of violence that I may be in a position to meet the burdens proper to my land and throughout confess my gratitude to your Genius. Farewell. I Areion have submitted the petition. I, Isidorus, of the same city, have written on his behalf as he claims to be illiterate.'

(2nd hand) 'Epeiph 20. The *Praepositus* of the *pagus* is well aware from whom taxes should be collected in respect of the sacred revenues of the land. Entry 120, volume 1.'

1. Sabinianus is also referred to as the competent *praeses* by a strategus of the Oxyrhynchite in the following year (P. Oxy. I. 60). Taken together the two texts provide additional support for A. H. M. Jones's contention (*Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 480, n. 51) that Aegyptus Herculia included both the Heptanomia and the Arsinoite.

Μερκουριανῆς: this curious mistake for *Ἡρκουλίας* also occurs in P. Thead. 20, 1 (as corrected by Collinet, *Nouvelle revue de l'histoire du droit*, 1913, 266; his *Μερκουριανι[οῦ]* should be corrected to *-ῆ[ς]*). Collinet's suggestion that the Latin *h* was mistaken for a *n* and that the word took its present form under the influence of *Mercurius* is probably correct; we may note that Arion, the petitioner of **659**, also had a hand in P. Thead. 20; he is also known from **653** and P. Thead. 31.

9–10. Sense and grammar are both confused here. In translating I have treated *τῆς γῆς* as a genitive of respect and the clause introduced by *ἕνεκεν* as giving the ground of the collectors' action, *ἔχοντος* being a slip for *ἔχειν*. Alternatively *τῆς γῆς* (i) might be a genitive of separation after *βιάσασθαι*, (ii) might be governed by *ἕνεκεν* and the following clause, if we ignored the *τοῦ*, regarded as a genitive absolute.

13. *δι' οὗ* = *ὥστε διὰ τούτου*.

17. The reading given of Isidorus' description of himself is far from certain. The initial *α* and the *πολ* are clear enough; but what I have regarded as the abbreviation mark of *ἀπό* is an unusually large hook and the *τ* is not of the shape the writer usually makes.

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660. DEMAND FOR PAYMENT

13·7×7·4 cm. A.D. 338.

It is impossible to determine the exact nature of this document in its present state, but it appears to be a demand for payment (or repayment) of moneys from the State. There are, however, two matters of interest: first, the deduction of 1,900 *denarii* from a total of 29,137 for *ῥοπή* (cash payment), which anticipates by two centuries the earliest example of this practice in the Egyptian documents;[1] and secondly, the means used to represent the numbers 1,000–9,000. In l. 4 a hook or curl is placed above and linked to the *α*, the normal method until about the middle of the fourth century (see H. J. M. Milne and T. C. Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus*, pp. 62–4 and note to **616**, Pr. (*a*) ii. 4); but in ll. 3 and 5

[1] A yet earlier example has recently occurred in P. Ant. 39, 11 (A.D. 323–4).

its place is taken by independent and different symbols of letter size, the latter of which is practically indistinguishable from the symbol for 90; that their function is to indicate the thousand is proved by the arithmetic.

. . . . .
λ̣ . αρ̣[. .] . λ̣[. .] . . . . ω̣ . [.] ρ . [.]
τῆς ἀγωγῆς χωρὶς ῥ̣(οπῆς) γ̣:ϙ†
(δην.) (μυρ.) β2θρλζ ἐξ ὧν κουφί-
ζεται ὑπὲρ ῥ̣(οπῆς) γί(ν.) (δην.) ϡ τὰ λοιπ(ὰ)
(δην.) (μυρ.) βϥζσλζ καὶ ἀξιῶ ἐπιστα-
λῆναι τὸν τρ(απεζίτην) ταῦτά μοι
ἐξωδιάσαι. Κυρία ἡ αἴτησις.
ὑπατείας Φλαουίων Οὔρσου καὶ
Πολεμίου τῶν λαμ(προτάτων), Μεσορὴ λ΄.
Αὐρήλιος Ἑρμᾶς Βίκτ(ορος)
ὁ προκ(είμενος) αἰ̣τ̣ημαι̣ ὡς
πρόκειται.

2. ρ⌊ P and in 4 7. l. ἐξοδιάσαι 11. l. ᾔτημαι

2. The purpose of the symbols at the end of this line is obscure to me; what I have read as γ might be an α, but there is no crest to indicate the 1,000, as there is above the α in l. 4.

4. What I have read as γί(ν.) could be interpreted as ϵ∫′, but the dash suggests that what precedes is a letter rather than a mark indicating a numeral or an abbreviation.

661. SETTLEMENT OF CLAIMS

Hermopolis. 9×24·5 cm. Fifth century.

The mutilation of ll. 4–6 and the general looseness of expression made it difficult to be certain what the precise purpose of this deed was; but it is probable that it is a settlement of claims arising from an inheritance parallel to e.g. BGU. 405 of A.D. 345 (= *Sel. Pap.* I. 56). Alternatively, if the brother of l. 12 is distinct from the addressee, it might be a certificate of indemnity in respect of labour done.

Κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφ[ῷ]
Φοιβάμμωνι
Νεωτερὶς χαίρειν·
ἐπειδὴ ἐποιησε̣τ̣[ ]
. ε̣ [. . .] α . . λει̣ν̣[ ]
ε̣ [. . .] ἀμπελουργ[
ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ το[ῦ]
ἐμοῦ μέρους τα̣ . [
διὰ τοῦτο ἐξέδω[κά]
σοι ταύτην τὴν χεῖρα̣ν̣
διὰ τὸ ὑπεδεξάμην

ἅμα τῶν ἀδελφῷ
ἐξ ἴσου: (2nd hand) Αὐρηλία Νεω-
τερὶς ἡ προ[κε]ιμένη
ἐξέδωκα τὴν χεῖρα·
Λυρήλιος Ἰωάννης ῥήτορος
βουλευτὴς Ἑρμοῦ πόλεως
ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς γράμ-
ματα μὴ εἰδυίης.

12. l. τῷ 12. l. τῷ 13. ἴσου P 16. l. ῥήτωρ

'Neoteris to my lord brother Phoebammon greeting. Since you have made ..... in respect of my share ... I have therefore executed this deed in your favour as I have received an equal share with my brother.

'I, Aurelia Neoteris the above-mentioned, have executed the deed. I, Aurelius John, advocate, councillor of Hermopolis, have written on her behalf as she is illiterate.'

4. ἐποιήσετ[ε] (but cf. σοι l. 10) or ἐποίησα τ[.
5. τελεῖν cannot be read; before the λ there may be an α.
6. ἔργα cannot be read as the tail of the ρ would be visible below the line. Possibly ε[ἰς] ἀμπελουργίαν.
8. The traces resemble τᾳ̣ῳ̣[; τῳ might be read but cannot be followed by a υ.
11. Confusion between two constructions, a causal clause and an infinitival clause, is not uncommon.

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662. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF A DEPOSIT

Antinopolis. 12×27·6 cm. A.D. 364.

Acknowledgement of a deposit of 11,600 talents repayable (as is usual) on demand. The contract has no exceptional features; it may, however, be noted that it does not support Taubenschlag's remark (*The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*, p. 266; footnote 7 on p. 265 gives a list of deposits of money) that in the fourth century A.D. 'the *νόμος παραθηκῶν* seems to fall into disuse'.

Μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Ἰουλιανοῦ τὸ δ´ καὶ Φλαυίου
Σαλλουστίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἐπάρχου τοῦ
ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου·
Αὐρηλίαι Θαίσα Παπνούθιος μητρὸς Τανώφριος
ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρσενοίτου καταμένουσα ἐν Ἀντινόου
πόλει τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ καὶ Θαῆσις Ἀρχ⟨ί⟩ου μητρὸς
Τανοῖτος ἀπὸ τῆς (αὐτῆς) Ἀντινόου πόλεως ἀλλήλων
ἔγγυοι εἰς ἔκτισειν Αὐρηλίᾳ Ταβῖνι
ἀπὸ τῆς (αὐτῆς) Ἀντινόου πόλεως χαίρειν· ὁμολογοῦ-
μεν ἔχειν σου ἐν παραθέσι ἀκίνδυνον παντὸς
κινδύνου καὶ ἀνυπόλογον παντὸς ὑπολόγου
ἀργυρίου τάλαντα μύρια καὶ χείλια ἑξακόσια γί(ν.) (τάλ.) (μυρ.) α Ἀχ
ἅπερ σοι ἀποκαταστήσωμεν ὁπήνικα ἐὰν αἰρῇ

ἄνευ τινος ὑπερθέσεως καὶ εὐρεσιλογίας· εἰ δὲ μή,
ἐκτίσομέν σοι ἀκολούθως τῷ τῶν παραθηκῶν
νόμῳ τῆς πράξεως σοι οὔσης ἔκ τε ἡμῶν ἀλλη-
λεγγύων ὄντων καὶ ἐξ ὁποτέρου οὖ ἐὰν αἱρῇ
ἡμῶν εἰς ἔκτισειν ἢ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων
ἡμῶν πάντων καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης· τὸ γράμμα τῆς
παραθήκης κύριον καὶ βέβ[αι]ον ὅπερ αὐτόθεν σοι
ἐξεθέμεθα πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν [καὶ ἐπ]ερωτηθ(εῖσαι) ὡμολ(ογήσαμεν)·
Μεχεὶρ ιη· Αὐρηλία Θαῆσα Παπνούθιος καὶ Θα-
ῆσις Ἀρχείου αἱ προκείμεναι ἔχομεν ἐν παρα-
θέσι τὰ τοῦ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα μύρια καὶ χείλια
ἑξακόσια καὶ ἀποκαταστήσωμεν ὡς πρόκειται·
Αὐρ(ήλιος) Δωρόθεος Ἀντινόου ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
γράμματα μὴ εἰδυείων.

Verso (along the fibres)

χ(ειρόγραφον) Θαῆσα καὶ Θαήσιος (τάλ.) (μυρ.) α ἀχ

1. l. *ὑπατίαν. ϊουλ. φλαυϊου* 3. *ϊερ.* 4. *Θαϊσα* 5. *αρσεν*(l. *Ἀρσιν.*)*οϊτου* 7. *τανοϊτος*, ʃ and in 9 8. l. *ἔκτεισιν* and in 18 10. l. *παραθέσει* and in 23 13. l. *ἀποκαταστήσομεν* and in 25 15. l. *ἐκτείσομεν* 17. l. *οὔσων ὁποτέρας ἧς* 23. l. *Ἀρχίου*

'Dated in the year after the fourth consulate of Iulianus and the first of Flavius Sallustius, the most illustrious Prefect of the Sacred Praetorium (A.D. 363.)

'Aurelia Thaisa, daughter of Papnouthis and Tanophris, of the Arsinoite nome but resident in the most illustrious city of Antinous, and Aurelia Thaesis, daughter of Archias and Tanois from the same city of Antinous, being sureties each for the other for repayment, to Aurelia Tabinis of the same city of Antinous, greeting. We admit to receiving from you on deposit free of all risk and not subject to any deduction eleven thousand six hundred talents of silver, total 11,600 tal., which sum we will repay to you at whatsoever time you please without any delay or prevarication, failing which we will make restitution to you in accordance with the law governing deposits, you having the right of execution on us being sureties each for the other jointly and severally as you may choose for payment or on all our possessions as though in accordance with a legal decision. This deed of deposit which we have herewith issued to you for your security is true and valid and on being asked the formal question we have given our consent. Mecheir 18.

We, Aurelia Thaësa daughter of Papnouthis and Thaësis daughter of Archias the aforementioned, hold on deposit the eleven thousand six hundred talents, and will restore them as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Dorotheos, son of Antinoos, have written for them being illiterate.'

VIII. MISCELLANEOUS MINOR DOCUMENTS

(*a*) PTOLEMAIC

663. 23×20·5 cm., official hand of last quarter of third century B.C. Parts of 3 columns of an official letter, with instructions to verify certain accounts. Col. i, ends of 4 lines. Col. ii: [1] *]φατου ιL* [2] *]ων Τεώυτος* [3] *καὶ [.....]ις Φανῶτος ϵ* [4] *Ὧρος ..[.]νηττιος ϵ* [5] *Δωρ[ό]θεος ϵ* [6] *Ἄρμαις Νικίου ϵ* [7] *[Ἀ]ρμιῦσις Πετειμύθου μ* [8] *Μαρρῆς Παοῦτος ιδ* [9] *Σεμθεὺς Σεμθέως δεκα*[10] *τάρχος* (cf. San Nicolò, *Ägypt. Vereinswesen*, I, p. 63; C. C. Edgar, introd. to P. Mich. Zen. 113) *ὑπὲρ τῆς δεκα*[11]*ταρχίας κϵ* [12] *οἱ γεωργ[ο]ὶ πάντες νβγ΄* [13] *(γίνονται) χκ[* [14–5] traces of ends of lines [16] *]μετὰ* [17] *] Ἀπολλώνιος* [18] *]α διελέγη* [19] *] (δρ.) οσ𐅵* Col. iii: [1] Traces [2] *τ[οῦ Διδύ]μου ἐγμέτρης[ις]* [3] *ἀπὸ [τοῦ κϵ]ιμένου ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι* [4] *πυρ[ῶν] ρπς καὶ ἴδιαι κριθ(ῶν) λγ* [5] *αἱ πυρῶν κ (γίνονται) εἰς πυρὸν χς* [6] *καὶ Μεσορεὶ ς⁻ πυρ(ῶν) ρϵ , (γίνονται) ψια* [7] *ὥστϵ λοιπὰς ὑπολειφθῆναι* [8] *ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι Διδύμου τμL΄* [9] *ἃς ἐξιδίασται. ἀξιῶ οὖν σϵ,* [10] *εἴ σοι φαίνεται, ἐπισκέψασθαι περὶ* [11] *τούτων.*

664. 15×8·5 cm. Scrap in an excellent official hand of early second century B.C., perhaps from an official letter. Left margin and foot preserved. [1] *ἔχοντα ὄνους θηλείας[* [2] *μὴ περισπᾶσαι αὐτὸν οπ[* [3] *παρὰ πάντα δὲ τοῦ σώμα[τος ἐπιμέλου ἵν' ὑγιαίνηις* (?) [4] Traces of a signature.

665. 19×18·5 cm. Recto, parts of 16 lines of an official letter, second century B.C., much of writing effaced. Verso, in a different hand, 7 lines of a private account. Recto 2–8: [2] *διεγνωκότων ἀποστέλλειν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν* [3] *Ξόιν μετὰ τῶν συνκαταστη[σ]όντων. σὺ δὲ καλῶς* [4] *ποιήσϵις κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ἐπιζητήσας* [5] *πρῶ τὰ χρήματα γέγονεν. οὐ γὰρ πιθανόν ἐστιν* [6] *τοσοῦτο πλῆθος χρηματισάμενον αὐτὸν διαλαθεῖν* [7] *οὐδὲ τὸν τρα[π]ϵζίτην συναγο-*
μένων τῶν πάντων [8] *εἰς τοὺς (sic) ἐξόδους εις οσ... (τάλ.) γ τοσούτωι πλεῖον....* L. 16 *[ἔρρ]ωσο (ἔτους) [.]α ['Ε]πεὶφ[.*

666. Fragment of a letter or account in an official cursive of second century B.C. 11×8 cm. [1] ±10 *].[±6]ρ[* [2] ±8 *]νων μετὰ τὴν μ[* [3] ±8 *]πτου καὶ τοῦ λοιπο[ῦ] υ[* [4] *[θησϵ]τ[αι ἡ]μῖν ἡ τιμὴ τ[* [5] *[..].ἓξ* Space: *[* [6] *στυππείου* (cf. P. Cairo Zen. 59177, 6; 59514, 7) *ὧι ἂν δῶμϵν προσ*[7]*θήσϵται ἡμῖν ἡ τιμὴ τοῦ* (τάλ.) [8] *[±4]ιβ καὶ τοῦ χόρτου τῆς μ̊ (=μυρίαδος?)* [9] *[±6]...[*

667. Three fragments from a taxation report written in a large and even official hand. The interest of these mutilated scraps is in the mention of *λαογραφ[ία* written out in full in fragment ii. 4. The only method of dating is palaeographical, and the reader may judge for himself from Plate 2. To us the hand seems to be definitely pre-Roman, and we would prefer to assign it to about the end of the second century B.C. This period would also suit the large sums of copper money in which the report deals. Provenance unknown.

Fragment i, 5×11 cm., complete at top: [1] *] ἀπὸ (τάλ.) φ[* [2] *] τῆς ἕως π[* [3] *(τάλ.)]κγ Ἀυμ τὰ λοιπ[ά* [4] *] ἀπὸ (τάλ.) κζ 'ΕΤ[* [5] *ἀπ]αιτούμενα ἕω[ς* [6] *]ας προσαχθέν[τ* [7] *] (τάλ.) η 'Γυνς[*

Fragment ii, 6×23 cm., perhaps immediately below fragment i: [1] *] (τάλ.) [* [2] *]ηπειης ἕω[ς* [3] *] ἐξ ὁμολόγου α.[* [4] *] καὶ τὰ ἐγ λαογραφ[ίας* [5] *] χαλκοῦ [* [6] *] τὰ λοιπά [* [7] *] Ψεννεκτένει α[* (not listed by Preisigke, either as place-name or as personal name) [8] *] ἐν ὁμολόγωι ϵ.[* [9] *] χαλ[κοῦ] (τάλ.) ιδ [* [10] *] ὑπὸ Ἰ[ϵ]τεχῶν[τος* [11] *] χαλ[κοῦ] (τάλ.) [* [12] *] τὰ λοιπά [* [13] *]ως ἀπὸ (τάλ.) μ[* [14] *] ἐν ἀτελείᾳ τιθεμϵ[ν* [15] *] ἐπιδεχόμενα [* Blank, probably foot of column.

Fragment iii, 9·5×15 cm., complete at top, ends of lines of one column and beginnings of another:

col. i	col. ii	
]υι	*γίνεται [*	
(δρ.) *]φξ*	*τρίτης περιστερ[ώνων*	(cf. Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 69)

]. ων
]. ε. ṭωτω καὶ καθειρημένων [(l. καθῃρημένων)
5]. ας πε- πυκνότερον .[
ἔ]ϛχε [ ].....[
] (δρ.)υλε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ε.[
] Βυλε .ης τοῦ ἐγκυκ[λίου
] . .

668. Two fragments of a petition in a large bold hand of the middle of the second century B.C. Fragment i (5·5×5·5 cm., complete at top, broken on every other side) [1] *ἀναγνωσ]θέντων διὰ ṭ[* (letter written over *τ* of *]θέντων*) [2] *] ταύτης καὶ Νι.[* [3] *Διονύ]ϛιον καὶ Ἰσίδω[ρον* [4] (e.g.) *συναλλάγμ]ατος ἀναγνῳ[σθέντος σ]ṵṿεχώρησαν [* [6] *].⁻[*. Fragment ii (7·5×10·5 cm., complete at foot, broken on every other side) [1] *].[..]τα δι.[* [2] *τὸ] δίκαιον ἀπονέμ[ειν* [3] *].[.].ανομενα εἰς [* [4] *].τινα ποῆται [* [5] *] χρηματίσαι α[* [6] *] ṭοῦ παρὰ Χαιριγέν[ους* [7] *τούτου] δὲ γενομένου τεύξ[ομαι τοῦ δικαίου. Εὐτύχει.*]

Line 8 (2nd hand) *διὰ] ὑπηρέτου Ἡφαιστί-ω]ṇος* (1st hand) *ἐδόθη* (*ἔτους*).[*καὶ συνεπ[ι ποῆται*

669. Four fragments of a petition written in a well-formed, medium-sized cursive of the first century B.C. The petitioner is a woman, and is perhaps concerned to recover her dowry. Fragment i, 5·3×7 cm. [1] *]ογ[* [2] *]πόλει τῆι* [3] *] τῆς Θηβαΐ-*[4] *[δος]. ἠξίωσέν με* [5] *] γενέσθαι μετ' αὐτοῦ* [6] *]ϛ ἐλευθέραν κἀμοῦ* [7] *σ]υνελθούσης αὐ-*[8] *[τῶι]ṭωι εἰς Φ[ι]λαδέλφειαν* [9] *κ̣αὶ γιν[ο]μένης* [10] *] παρ' αὐ[τ]ῶι ἀπεδό-* [11] *[θη]ημεṇ[..]ες κρατῆι* [12] *].ν ἐκ τῆς.* Fragment ii, 2×3·5 cm. [1] *]νγραφω* [2] *το]ῦ πρὸς τὰ* [3] *Δι]οσκουρίδη-*[4] *[ν κρ]ạτεῖν ἢ* [5] *] με τούτου* [6] *τ]εύξομαι* [7] Traces. Fragment iii, 3×3 cm. [1] Traces [2] *μενη.[* [3] *πᾶσιν βο[υλομεν..* [4] *δεομεν[* [5] *δεῖν με ἀπ̣[ο* [6] *]ạṣ[.* Fragment iv, 3·5×3·5 cm. [1] *].τε διατελεῖς* [2] *ἀ]ṇθ' ὧν ἀξιῶ σε* [4] *].ι κ̣αὶ περὶ* [5] *ἀδι]κου[μ]ένης* [6] *συν]ṭάξ̣αι γράψαι* [7] *]..τῶι ἐπιστά*[8] *[τηι.*

670. 12×13·5 cm. Parts of 18 lines from a contract of loan, early second century B.C. Ll. 7–15: [7] *ἡ δὲ πρᾶξις ἔστω....[* [8] *ἐξ οὗ ἐὰν α]ἰ̣ρῆται καὶ παρ' ἀμφο̣[τέρων* [9] *].αι ἑαυτοῦ κομισάσθα[ι* [10] *....ρ̣ειṇ τῶν ἐπιγε̣γημ̣ά̣[των* [11] *]ν τὸν εἰθισμ̣[ένον* [12] *].ṇ τῆ̣σδε τῆς ṣυṇ[γραφῆς* [13] *]. ἴσον ηι.....[* [14] (no change of hand) *ὁμολογ]ῶ ἔχειν τὸ δανεῖ[ον* [15] *ἀκολούθω]ϛ τοῖς προγεγρ[αμμένοις.*

671. 8·5×8·5 cm. Parts of 9 lines from a private letter in a careless, round cursive of the second century B.C. Ll. 1–6: [1] *]ηδ̣ι̣ϛ τῇ Εἰρήνῃ χα[ί]ρειν.* [2] *γίνωσκε Αἴπαρ[ν]ο[ν] πυ*[3]*κνότερον παρ[α]γ[ε]νόμε*[4]*νον ὑπὲρ τῶν ạ[ὐτ..] ἰδίαι* (or *ἰδίῳι*). [5] *σὺ οὖν καλῶς π̣[οιή]σεις εἰ* [6] *[συ]νκομίζῃ διὰ [....]...* Verso: *Εἰρήνῃ.*

672. 10×5·6 cm. On the recto across the fibres. Second century B.C. Private accounts including an order for payment. [1] *]ε̣ν ὁ ἐπιμελητὴς μέτρησον* [2] *]...καὶ κριῶν* (cf. P. Cairo Zen. 59192, 8, a kind of erebinth) *εἰς Φαῶφι τλθ* [3] *].ϛι̣β̣* (*γίνονται ἀρτάβαι*) *σογ* (*ἥμισυ*) (*τέταρτον*) *χ*(*οίνικες*) *θ κρις* (sic) *τνα καὶ εἰς Φαῶφι* [4] *τιθ]έμενον ἐν λήμματι ἀνένεγκε* [5] *]... τνα εἰσέṭ̣ι* (?) *προδεδω..* [6] *]..ν* (*ἔτους*) *ιη* (188/7 B.C.? The hand seems rather to belong to the middle of the century) *Φαῶφι ῑδ̄* [7] *]* (2nd hand) *φ*[.]..*ṭον* (not *ἑκατόν*) *τριάκ̣*[*οντα.*

673. 22·5×22 cm. On recto parts of 2 columns of expenditure for building, arranged by days of month, first century B.C. Verso blank. Col. i: [5] *ὠλενῶν* (δρ.) *ιβ* [6] *δόκων η* (δρ.) *ιβ* [7] *πλί*〈*ν*〉*θων* (δρ.) *λ*[[*β*]]*δ* [8] *Ἡρᾶς* (δρ.) *η* [9] *ξύλων δο*[[*β*]]*κ*(*ικῶν*) (δρ.) *ια* [10] *κε λίθων* (δρ.) *κ* [11] *ἄλ̣λ̣ων* (δρ.) *νβ* Col. ii: [4] *κθ̄* *ἐργατῶ*(*ν*) *δ* (δρ.) *ζ*⁻ [5] *λ̄ ἐργατε* (l. *ἐργατῶν*) *δ* (δρ.) *η*≠ [6] *σχυνίω*(*ν*) (l. *σχοινίων*) (δρ.) *β* [7] *ᾱ ἐργατῶ*(*ν*) *δ* (δρ.) *θ*⁻ [8] *β̄ ἐργατε γ* (δρ.) *ϛ* [9] *γ̄ ἐργατε* (δρ.) *η* [10] *δ̄ ἐργατε γ* (δρ.) *ϛ*⁻ [11] *ε̄ ἐργατε β* (δρ.) *κϛ*. Below in 2nd hand three lines of totals: [1] (δρ.) *ρμ.* [2] (δρ.) *μζ* [3] (δρ.) *ξδ.*

674. 14×15 cm. Second or first century B.C. Private account, probably of corn, recto 17 lines, continuing 7 lines on verso. Ll. 1–14: *Σέλοκος* (i.e. *Σέλευκος*) *Εὐδότῳ ἔχω παρά σου δεκάδυο* [2] *ἥμυσυ* (l. *ἥμισυ*) (*γίνονται*) *ιβ*[L] [3] *Στρατίῳ δεκά*[*δ*]*ṿ̣ο τέταρτον* [4] *Ἀπολλοφάνῃ ἔ*[*χω παρ*]*ά σου δέκα ἥμυσυ* (l. *ἥμισυ*) *τέτα ϛ΄ ιϛ΄* [5] *ρτον* [6] *Μενεκράτης* (l. *Μενεκράτηι*) *ἔχ̣ω* [*δε*]*κάδυο τέταρτον* [7] *Μάρωνι ιαd* [8] *Νείωνι ια καὶ ζημίας α* (*γίνονται*) *ιβ* [9] *Διοσκοῦτι ιḷ*[*dη*].. [10] (*γίνονται*) *πα*L*dη* [11] *καὶ παρὰ Ἀλκιμήδου* (δρ.) *ια*L [12] *χάλκινα δ*L [13] *οἴνου γ*L*d* [14] (*γίνονται*) *γ*L*d*.

(*b*) ROMAN

675. 17×24 cm. A.D. 16/17. Official letter from Fabullus (strategus of Cynopolite nome?) to the royal scribe Heraclides (probably the royal scribe of the Oxyrhynchite and Cynopolite nomes mentioned in P. Oxy. 746) enclosing an official notice and letter to be posted in a prominent place. Restorations are *exempli gratia*. [1] *Φάβουλλος Ἡρακλείδηι τῷ τ̣ειμι̣[ωτάτῳ πλεῖσ][2]τα χ̣[αίρειν.* [3] *τὸ συνε[πιστελλόμενον διάταγμα (?) σὺν τῇ ἐπι]* [4] *στολῇ ἐπ[έστ]αλ̣[κά σοι ὥστε ἐν τῷ δια][5]σημοτάτωι τῆ̣[ς πόλεως τό][6]πωι ἐκτεθῆν[αι* [7] *ἵνα ἐξ αὐτῆς π̣ά̣[ντες κατακολουθῆτε* (?) [8] (2nd hand) *Ἔρρωσο.* Space. [9] (1st hand) (*Ἔτους*) *γ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ..*[[10] *..*[. On the verso in 1st hand, address: *στρατηγὸς* (?) *Κυ]̣νοπολίτου Ἡρακλείδηι βασιλ(ικῷ) γραμμα(τεῖ).*

676. 9×17·5 cm. Beginnings of 22 lines of an official letter in a clear well-formed cursive of the first century A.D. (? Vespasian). The lines were probably long. [1] *Ἀντίγραφον ἐπιστολ̣ῆ̣ς*[[2] *ὁ κράτιστος ἀρχιπροφ[ήτης προσ]*[3]*ήκουσαι αὐτ[..] τάξεις* [[4] *...ησαι κα[τ]ὰ τὸ ἐξ ἀρ[χῆς ἔθος* (cf. P. Fouad Inv. 211, 8–9, published by J. Scherer, *Bulletin de l'Inst. fr. d'Archéol. orient.* xli. 43 ff.) [5] *μένουσαν .ημφ..*[[6] *ε̣[.].ς̣. ἔρρω(σο).(ἔτους) ϛ Φαῶφ[ι* (? A.D. 73/4) [7] *α[6–7ϵ]ἴδῃς ορ̣απι.*[[8] [6 *χ]ρόνῳ ὑποπειπ[τ* [9] *[...πρ]οφήτεια [τ]οῦ διεπιτ̣*[[10] *η[..]ον ἐπιχωροῦσι προφη̣[τ* [11] *[....]μοι μέχρι νῦν πεφυλ[αγμεν κατα-]* [12] *[τὸ ἐξ] ἀρχῆς ἔθος ἐκπαρα*[[13] *[....]στειων δ̣υεῖν κ*[Parts of 9 more lines.

677. 7·5×15·5 cm. Ends of lines of an official letter, quoted here for the new term *ἐλασσοδαφία* (ll. 9, 13), which is presumably akin to *λειψεδαφία* of P. Oxy. 1911, 98 and 1912, 129 ('loss of soil' by washing away, LSJ.). Oxyrhynchus, Tiberius, 21 lines. Ll. 1–17: [1] *].ρ̣α̣[7].υνει καὶ Πετεμοῦνι* [2] *ο]ις χαίρειν. ἐ̣πεὶ τῷ Φαῶφι μηνὶ* [3] *].τεια Τιβερίου Καίσ̣αρος Σεβαστοῦ* [4] *].περὶ κώμην Σέ̣νεπτα τῆ̣ς* [5] *[μέσης τοπαρχίας] Μενεσθέως σὺν τῷ Ἀνδρονίκῳ* [6] *].εως τοῦ ε̣..ν̣ω̣λ̣.ω̣ρα̣ν̣ μίαν* [7] *] αὐτόθεν δὲ παρειληφὼς τὴν* [8] *] ἐκπεπισμένο̣ς̣ ὑπὲρ τῆ̣ς ἐνούσης* [9] *].εσιν ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ ἐλ̣α̣σσοδαφία[ς]* [10] *].ενη ὑ̣π̣ὲ̣ρ̣ (πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν) ιδ τ̣*[..] *μηδένα* [11] *συ]νεστάσθαι μὴ ἐλλατουμένου* (l. *ἐλαττουμένου*) [12] *] ὑμεῖν βεβαιώσει ἀκολούθως* [13] *]λη̣ι.ης* (the missing letter may be either *κ* or *ν*) *ἐλασσοδαφίας η χερ..*[.] [14] *].οι.*[..]*υν ἔ̣σεσθε .οι ἑτέραν* [15] *].τ̣.*[.]*λ̣ην κα.μεν ἀδελφὸν* [16] *]λ.*[..] *χωροῦντά μοι ἀπὸ τοῦ* [17] *]..ἀκολούθως τῇ ο̣ὔ̣σηι.*

678. 8×13·5 cm. A.D. 150. Extract from report of judicial proceedings. [1] *Ἔτ̣[ο]υς [ι]δ′ Ἀντ̣ω̣[νίνου]* [2] *Καίσαρος τοῦ κ[υρίου]* [3] *Θὼθ ϵ·* (space) [4] *κληθέντων* [[5] *[τ]ῶν ἀλλ̣οφύ̣λ̣ω[ν* [6] *μεθ' ἕτερα—Μουνάτ̣ι[ος εἶπε? Καῖ-]* [7] *σ̣αρ ἄγνω[σ]τ̣ο̣ς τότε ἦρξε ο̣π̣α̣*[[8] *.ρ.ν Σαραπίων εἶπεν* [[9] *ρ̣[.]τι αἰτῶ Μουνάτ̣ιος εἶπεν* [[10] *Μαμερτείνῳ ἐνέτυχ̣ο̣[ν* [11] *Ἡλιοδώρῳ Εὐδαίμ[ονι* [12] *Πρόκλῳ Ὀνωράτῳ Σαρ[α-]*[13]*π[ί]ων ϵ[ἶπεν ου*[[14] *ο̣ι̣ς̣[.].[.]..*[. Munatius (ll. 6 and 9) is L. Munatius Felix, prefect 150–1. His immediate predecessors are named in ll. 10–12. If the supplement in ll. 12–13 is correct, there would be no prefect intervening between M. Petronius Honoratus (last recorded 3 Nov. 148) and Munatius (first recorded 17 Apr. 150: see O. W. Reinmuth, *The Prefect of Egypt*, p. 135). Otherwise we must assume the existence of an unknown prefect between the two, and *Sar . . .* is not a very common beginning of a Roman name. At the beginning of l. 9 *ε̣τι* may be read, a space being left between the *ϵ* and *τ* because the surface was abraded. For *ἀλλόφυλοι* cf. *Gnomon*, § 57.

679. 12×11·5 cm. Recto, parts of 8 lines of tachygraphical symbols. Verso in hand of third century A.D. parts of two columns of minutes of judicial (?) proceedings, in which reference is made to transactions in a *βουλή*. Col. i. Traces [2] *]σωπ̣..* [*κα]τ̣ὰ τὸν ν̣όμον* [3] *]ν προσϵ[..]ϵν* (e.g. *προσϵ[ἶπ]ϵν*) *τῇ βουλῇ* [4] *] ῥ̣ήτωρ π̣[ρ]οσέθηκεν* [5] *κατ]ὰ το[[ν̣ν̣ς]] νόμ[ο][[ν̣ν̣ς]] κέκριται* [6] *].σια γέγον[ϵν] ᾗ οὔ; καὶ* [7] *] ἡ βουλὴ ἡ βάλλ̣ο̣υ̣σα κ̣ατὰ* [8] *] ὡς σὺν ἔκτοτϵ* [9] *ἀ]μφισβητεῖν.* Foot of column. Col. ii: [1] *.*[[2] *π*[[3] *σαφῆ ἐστιν* [space below.

680. 8×10 cm. Portion cut from a roll in order to carry a private letter on the verso (hand of third century, too fragmentary for reproduction). Recto has parts of 12 lines from the top of a column in a good literary hand approximating to the sloping type to be assigned probably to second century (*η* made throughout like *h*). Search has failed to identify the contents as literary; moreover, the width of the column (8 cm.) is about the maximum to be expected in a book text, while clearly a considerable portion has been lost at the beginnings and endings of lines; and the diction is reconcilable with an account of legal proceedings or a petition. [1] *ε̣ἰ οὐκ ἄλ[λ]οτε ο̣π̣ο̣υδῆς καὶ εὐ[νοίας* [2] *αὐ]τ̣οῦ μὲν τοῦ ἐπιτροπεύοντο[ς* [3] *τ]ὸ τῆς ἀναμ[....]εως πέρας*[(e.g. *ἀναμ[ετρήσ]εως*, but other restorations and divisions of letters are possible) [4] *ἀ̣ψι]μαχία (?) ἐστίν [ἀσυ]̣ν̣τέλε̣σ̣τ̣ο̣ν* [[5] *ὅ̣]σα ἐγὼ αὐτὸ̣[ς ἐπϵ]σκεψάμην*[[6] *ἐ̣]κπέπλεχϵ ε̣ι̣..*[.....]*σα μετ*[[7] *]ην μηδεν.ς̣...ἔχει πέραϛ* [[8] *]εται*

παρι̣.[. ἐ]φ[θ]έγγετο δὲ Μ[9]ς τάχα βο̣[υ]λ̣ό̣μ̣[ε]νο̣ς̣ πωλῆσαι [10]υ αὐτοῦ πω̣λ̣ή̣[σαν]τ̣[ο]ς̣ ἴ̣διον κ[τῆμα 11] ἀροῦραι κα̣ρ̣π̣[ιζ]ό[μεν]αί εἰσιν κ[12] ἀπ̣ερχ̣ομ̣εν..κ̣α̣.[...]τυπολ̣..[

681. 10×6·5 cm. Second century A.D. Order for arrest (see most recently P. Merton 29). 1 Τακολκείλεως 2 τ̣ὸ̣ν Πε̣ῦνις Ὥρου τοῦ Ἀνγᾶτος 3 μητρὸς Ταοννώφριος κατάγι(ν) 4 εἴ⟨ς⟩ τὸν ἀρχέφοδον.

682. 7·5×4·5 cm. *c.* A.D. 202–3. Beginning of a return of uninundated land (cf. **596**) similar in address to P. Hamb. 11. 1 Δημητρίῳ στρα(τηγῷ) Ἀρσιν(οίτου) Ἡρακ(λείδου μερίδος) Ἀ̣ρ̣σι[νοί(του)] 2 καὶ Κανώπῳ τῷ κ(αὶ) Ἀσκληπιάδῃ [βασιλ(ικῷ)] 3 γρα(μματεῖ) τῆ[ς] αὐτῆς καὶ κωμογρα(μματεῖ) Καρ̣[ανί(δος)] 4 [π]α̣ρὰ Πτολεμαίου Ὥρου καὶ Σισό̣[ιτος 5]φρεως κ(αὶ) τῶν λοιπ̣ῷ̣[ν 6 ἀπογραφόμεθ]α̣ κατ̣[ὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα κτλ.

683. 9×34 cm. Oxyrhynchus, 16th Nov. A.D. 244. Lease, of which the middle section is much damaged. Written in a tiny hand. 1 Ἐμίσθωσαν [Αὐρήλι]οι Τιῶρις καὶ Πανκολ²λαῦχις καὶ .[υσᾶς κα]ὶ Κ̣α̣ροῦσις οἱ δ̣ Πατο³..χιος μητρὸς [....]αντήριος ἀπὸ κώ⁴μης Σκὼ Αὐ[ρηλί]ῳ̣ Σπαρτιάτῃ τῷ καὶ 5 Χ̣α̣ιρήμονι γυμνασιαρχήσαντι βου⁶[λ]ευτῇ τ̣ῆ̣ς̣ Ὀξυ(ρύγχων) πόλεως εἰς μόν̣ο̣ν̣ τὸ 7 ἐ̣ν̣ε̣σ̣[τὸς] β (ἔτος] τὰς̣ ἀ̣ν̣α̣γραφομέ̣ν̣α̣ς̣ ε̣ἰ̣ς̣ 8 α̣ὐ̣τοὺ̣[ς π]ερὶ Σκὼ βασιλικῆς οὔσ̣α̣ς̣ ἐ̣ν̣ πε⁹ριχώματι πο̣λ.. ἐν ἓξ τόποις ἐν μ̣ὲ̣ν ἑ̣[νὶ] 10 (ἀρούρ.) γ καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ (ἀρούρ.) β (ἡμισείαν) καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ (ἀρούρ.) (ἡμισείαν) καὶ 11 ἐν ἄλλῳ (ἀρούρ.) γ (ἡμισείαν) κ̣α̣ὶ̣ ἐ̣ν̣ [ἄλ]λῳ (ἀρούρ.) (τέταρτον) καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄλ¹²λῳ (ἀρούρ.) (ἡμισείαν) τὰς ἐπὶ τ̣[ὸ αὐ]τ̣ὸ ἀρούρας δέκα 13 τέταρτον ὥσ[τε σπ]εῖ[ρα]ι καὶ ξυλαμῆ¹⁴σαι οἷς ἂν α̣ἱ̣ρῆται [γέ]νεσι χωρὶς [[.]] ἰσάτε¹⁵ως καὶ ὀχομενίου φόρου κατ' ἀρού̣ρ̣α̣[ν] 16 ἐκ ..... δραχμὰς τοὺς (perhaps ἐκ γεωμετρίας ἀνὰ; τοὺς clear but inexplicable) τρ[ιά]¹⁷κον̣τ̣α̣ [.]υ̣δ̣ε̣τ̣ω̣..α̣ι̣ ὁμοίως ἐν τέσ¹⁸σ̣α̣ρ[σ]ι σφραγεῖσ̣ι̣ ἐν α̣⁻ μὲν (ἀρούρ.) δ ἄλλῃ (ἀρούρ.) β (ἡμισείαν) 19 ἄλλῃ (ἀρούρ.) β καὶ ἐ̣ν̣ ἄ̣[λλ]ῃ (ἀρούρ.) β τὰς εἰς (τὸ αὐτὸ) ἀρού²⁰ρας δέκα ἥμισυ̣ [ὥ]σ̣τ̣[ε σ]πεῖραι πυρῷ̣ 21 ἐκφορίου κατ' [ἔτ]ο̣ς̣ ..[.].....[..] 22 [..] π̣υ̣ροῦ ...[.....]ι δημοσίων..... 23 τεσσάρω̣ν̣ ἀκί[νδυν]α πάντα παντὸς 24 κ̣ι̣ν̣δύνου, τῷ̣ν̣ τῆς γῆς δημοσίω̣ν̣ ὄν²⁵των πρὸς τ̣ο̣ὺ̣ς̣ με[μι]σ̣θωκό̣τ̣α̣ς̣ ἕως... The following ten lines much damaged. L. 35 (end) κυρία ἡ μίσθω³⁶[σι]ς̣, ἐ̣περωτηθέν̣τ̣ες δὲ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων 37 ὡμολόγησαν. (ἔτους) β Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος 38 Μ̣άρκου Ἰουλ̣ί̣ο̣υ Φιλί̣ππου Εὐσεβοῦς 39 Εὐτυχοῦς καὶ Μάρκου Ἰουλίου Φι̣λ̣[ί]ππου 40 γενναιοτ̣άτου Κ̣αίσα̣[ρο]ς Σ̣[ε]β̣[αστῶν Ἀθ]ὺρ γ⁻. (2nd hand) 41 Αὐρήλιοι Τ̣ι̣ῶρ[ις] καὶ Πανκο̣λλαῦχις καὶ .υσᾶς 42 καὶ Καροῦσις οἱ δ⁻ μεμισθώκαμεν τὴν γῆν 43 [ὡ]ς̣ πρ̣ό̣κ̣ιται καὶ ἔσχαμεν τὰς δραχμὰς 44 [τ]ρ̣ιακοσίας ε̣ἰς συγκυρην (? l. συγκύρειν) πυροῦ δημοσι.. 45 [...].δ̣ιολ( ) α. καὶ ἐπερωτ̣η̣θέντες ὡμολογή 46 [σα]με[ν 6]..[...]τιανὸς Θωνᾶς 47 [ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτ]ῶ[ν] μὴ εἰδότων γράμμ(ατα).

684. 9×5×10·5 cm. ? Fragment of loan. From foot of a column, first century A.D. 1]..[..].[.] 2] σὺν ἑτέροις τ̣ῷ̣ν̣ α̣[..] 3 Μεσ]σαλειλιανῶν (*sic*) ἐδαφῶν̣ (cf. **87**, 4 and 7; Rostovtzeff, *Kolonat*, p. 122: in various parts of Arsinoite and Heracleopolite nomes) 4]ν̣ιοε̣...τ̣ὸ̣ ἐ̣πιβάλλον αὐτῷ 5]ο̣υ̣ς̣ ἀλληλεγγύης ὑπὲρ 6]ε̣ρ̣υ̣νεν (δρ.) Ἐψνγϝ κ̣α̣ὶ̣ ἀργ(υρίου) 7]ω̣ς̣ κα̣ὶ̣ δηλῶσα̣ι̣ 8]ηλωσεν τὸν τῆς πό̣λεω̣ς 9 π]εφωνηκέναι τον. Space.

685. 9×19·5 cm. Late third or early fourth century. End of a contract by which Aurelius Th[o]nis puts some object in pledge. 14 lines.

686. 11×22 cm. Reign of Claudius. Letter on agricultural matters. 1]..καὶ Θεων.[(perhaps ὁ καὶ Θέων, or τῷ καὶ Θέωνι) 2 χ]α̣ί̣ρ̣ε̣ι̣ν. 3 δ̣ι̣α̣.ο̣δ̣....βο̣λευσ̣ον (traces too slight to confirm e.g. ἐμβόλευσον) τὸν 4 μηνο[..]ρ̣ω̣ (possibly]ρ̣ο̣υ̣; hardly ν̣α̣υ̣κλήρου and Μηνο[δώ]ρ̣ο̣υ̣ is too long for the space) κλήρου· ἔπεμψά 5 σοι ἀν[ά]φοριν (l. ἀναφόριον) τοῦ παραδίσου 6 καὶ τῶν [π]εριστερεών⟨ων⟩· πέμψον 7 μοι εἰς θέ̣ριστρα κριθῆς καὶ εἰς 8 ὀψώνια̣ κ̣αταμηνίοις ἀργυρίου 9 δραχμὰ̣ς̣ τριακωσίας (l. τριακοσίας), (γίνονται δραχμαὶ) τ. 10 ἔρρω(σο). Space 11]. Κ̣λ̣αυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ 12 Αὐτοκράτορος Φαμενὼθ λ⁻. Verso blank.

687. 9·5×16 cm., plus three fragments. Letter from Tauris to Didymas, of which left-hand halves of 19 lines survive. Writing continues down the left-hand margin, and is continued across the top margin upside down. First century A.D.

688. 9·5×11 cm. Private letter. End of first century A.D. (the emperor in ll. 7–8 may be either Domitian or Trajan, i.e. A.D. 89/90 or 105/6). Verso blank. 1 Ἀμμώνιος Φίλων[ι χαίρειν. 2 ἐλάδιόν μοι πέμψον [3 λαν τηρήσεις δὲ μο̣ν̣[4 ἐλάδιον μή ποτε χρε.[5 σω κομίζεταί μοι ἀπ[6 ἔρρωσο. 7 (ἔτους) ἐνάτου Αὐτοκράτορ[ος Καίσαρος 8 Σεβαστοῦ Γερμ̣[ανικοῦ.

689. 19×10 cm. Early second century. Ends of lines of one column, and parts of 14 lines of a second column of a letter, probably private. Traces of ink on verso. Much tattered and holed. Col. ii: 1 τὴν μ̣ητέρ[α]{ν}, πολλὰ δὲ ἐπ̣αγγελλο̣μένοις 2 ....ε̣ι̣.ν ὅτι ἀναβα[ίν]η̣ς [εἰς τ]ὴν Ὀξυρυγχ[ί]τ̣η̣ν̣. A line of writing running perpendicularly in right margin.

690. 10·2×16·5 cm. Third century A.D., presumably not earlier than A.D. 258 in view of the reference to ἐπανορθωτής (cf. A. Stein, *Aegyptus*, XVIII (1938), 234 ff.; C. H. Roberts, P. Merton I, Appendix) in l. 7. At least 8 letters are lost on the left. 1].νι χαίρειν. ὡς ἐνετε̣[ιλάμην σοι] 2]. παρὼν τὰς τρισχειλί[ας δραχμὰς]

[3] e.g. *δυσχε]ραίνων ἅμα τῷ μελλακ[ίῳ* 5] (read *μειρακίῳ*). [4] *Ἀπο]λλ[ώ]νιός μοι ἐνετείλα[το* 4] [5] *]ωρους ἔχι* (l. *ἔχει*) *καὶ τὰ πῆν[α]* (no room for *πην[ία]*, cf. P. Oxy. 1740, 6, same orthography, edd. *πην⟨ί⟩α*) *καὶ κε-* [6] *τάχι]στα πέμψε* (l. *-αι*) *τῇ Φ. ικ̣.* [7] *]ομαι πρὸς τὸν ἐπανορθω*[8]*τὴν]γραφὴν καὶ ἐγέγκα[σ]θαί σε* [9] *τ]ὸν Δίδυμον. εἰ δὲ εὔλογα* [10] *]ε εὔθυνον σεαυτόν, εἰ δὲ μὴ* [11] *] σὺ οὖν Σελευκᾷ συνβούλευσον·* [12] *] ἤκουσα γὰρ ὅτι κοινωνός σου* [13] *ὢν χ]άριν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐντρεπό*[14]*[μενος]αι.* (2nd hand) *ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔχομαι* [15]]. Verso blank.

691. 7·6×11 cm. Late third century. Private letter from Boukolos to Alexander, senator of Oxyrhynchus. [1] *Χ[αῖρ]ε* (hardly room for *χ[αίροι]ς*) *κύριέ* [[.]]*μ[ου]* [2] *Ἀλ̣ἑ[ξ]ανδρε, Βουκόλος σε* [3] *προσαγορεύω.* [4] *τὸν π̣[ρ]ο̣σ-φ[έ]ροντά σοι τοῦ*[5]*τό μου τὸ ἐπιστολείδιον* [6] *Ἀπολινάριον καλούμε*[7]*νον υἱὸν* (*υϊ*, P.) *τυγχάνοντα* [8] *τῆς εὐμοίρου μου ἀδελ*[9]*φῆς ὅτ̣[ε] ο̣ὖν ἐθέλοι πρὸς* [10] *ἡμᾶς* (l. *ὑμᾶς*) *εἰς τ̣[ὸν] Ὀξυρυγχεί*[11]*την πα[ρ]α̣γ[ιν]έσθαι καλῶς* [12] *ποιήσεις τοῖς ἐνθῦτα* (l. *ἐνταῦθα*) *ἐμοῖς* [13] *καὶ τοῖς συνπλοῦσιν σ[υσ]τῆ*[14]*σαι ἵνα* (*ἵνα*, P.) *μὴ ὡς ξένον [ἀλ]λ' ὡς* [15] *υἱὸν* (*υϊ*, P.) *ἡμῶν αὐ̣τὸν ἔχ̣ωσιν.* [16] *ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τῷι̣ Θέωνι δ̣ῶρ[α]* [17] *στροβειλίων. ἤ̣σπασα τ̣ὴν* [18] *ἀγαθωτάτην σου θυγατέρα με*[19]*τὰ τοῦ γλυκυτάτου αὐτῆς υἱοῦ* (*υϊ*, P.) [20] *[κα]ὶ τοὺς ὑ̣μετέρους πάντ̣ας. ἐγώ* (broken). Verso, along the fibres. *Ἀλ]ε̣ξάνδ[ρ]ῳ βουλευτῇ Ὀξυρύγχ(ων) π(αρὰ) Βουκόλ(ου).*

692. 10·1×26·1 cm. Late third century. Letter from Melas to Olympius (cf. P. Giss. Bibl. Univ. III. 30). [1] *Μέλας Ὀλυμπ̣[ίῳ τῷ]* [2] *ἀδελφῷ [χαίρ]ε̣ιν·* [3] *σπ[ο]ύδ[α]σον κ̣[.....]* [4] *ναι κο[τ]υλισ̣[μὸ]ν* [5] *τὸ ἁλὰς* (l. *τοῦ ἁλὸς*) *καὶ ἀσφαλῶς* [6] *ἐπαναγραφὴν ποίησον* [7] *ὅσους μοδίους [μ]έλλεις* [8] *εὑ̣ρεῖν ἐν τῇ.[...]α̣ιε.* [9] *σ̣τ̣[..] β ἀγγῖα .[....]ο̣ν* [10] *το[..]. ἐξωδιασ̣μ̣[έν...]* [11] *ε̣λ̣[...]υ ἐπὶ [..]θ[ ]* [12] *[.]α̣μ̣[.....].[ ]* [13] *α[.....]..[ ]* [14] *ὁ ἀδ[ελφὸς τ]οῦ κ̣ε̣λ̣λ̣[αρίου]* [15] *δωγ̣[...π]ε̣ρὶ τούτου τ̣[ο]ιᾳ̣ῦ*[16]*τα ε̣[...].ργε ποίησο̣ν* [17] *καὶ φ[ιλο]νείκησον κατελ*[18]*θεῖν [πρ]ὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος·* [19] *οἶδα [γὰρ] ἐγὼ τὸ ἀσφαλές* [20] *σου κ̣[αὶ γ]οργὸν καὶ πιστι*[21]*κόν· [ταῦ]τα γὰρ οὐ λανθά*[22]*νει [τὸν] δοῦλό̣ν μου Ἑρμο*[23]*γένη[ν] καὶ ὅσον σὺ κάμνεις* [24] *σεαυτῷ ἀγαθὰ ἐ̣ν {εν} πᾶσ*[25]*ει* (l. *πᾶσι*)· *⟨εἴ⟩ τι οὖν θέλεις ἔχ̣ε Νάρκισσον* [26] *παρά σοι· ἔγραψα γὰρ αὐτῷ περί σου·* [27] *ἔρρωσθαί σε εὔχομαι.* Across the fibres, in the left margin: *ἐμοῦ θέλοντος ἄλλους πέμψαι*

[28] *οἶδας γὰρ ὅτι σὺ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑ̣π̣ο̣[.....] τοῦτο ποιήσειν [[καὶ ἀνελθεῖν ἐπεὶ οἶδας]]* [29] *ὅτι .ρ̣ει̣..σου ἔχωι̣* [.....]*λον μίαν {μίαν} μου ἃ πολλὰ φ[..]ναί σε* [30] *ω.[..]νε̣* [25 ll.] *ὁρῶ γὰρ* [31] [Verso.].*ερβιτ*( ).[

693. 13·5×9·6 cm. Letter from Melas (probably) to Olympius but in hand different from that of **692**. [1] [*Μέλας*] *Ὀλυμπ̣[ίῳ τῷ] ἀ̣δελφῷ χ[αίρ]ε̣ιν·* [2] *θα[υμά]ζω μὲν [[ημ.]] [ὅτ]ι̣ πέπραχ̣ας τ̣ο̣ύ*[3]*τ̣ω[ν ι]β̣ ἀγγίων τεσσ[άρω]ν* (l. *τέσσαρα*)· *Λεοντίου δ[έ], ὥς* [4] *γε ἤκουσα ἀπὸ Ἰσιδώρου* (*ϊσ*. P.) *τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, καὶ διὰ* [5] *τοῦτ̣[ο] ἐγὼ [οὐκ ἀπι]στῶ ἐπεὶ [.....] ἔπεισα* [6] *αὐτ[ὸν.....]υλη[..].π[.....] τὴν ὁδὸ[ν].* Traces of two more lines and of a further two in the margin.

694. 13×5·6 cm. Beginning of letter from Melas to Boukolos mentioning Leontius. Three lines and traces of a fourth remain; on the verso *κυρίῳ μου ἀδ[ελφῷ]*.

695. 15×11 cm. Lower part of letter almost certainly written by Melas. Ll. 3 ff.: [3] *ἀ[ποκα]ταστήσης· οἶ[δας γ]άρ σὺ αὐτὸς* [4] *ἐ̣[ν] ὁ̣ποίᾳ εἰμὶ ἀθυμ[ίᾳ] τ̣ούτ̣ου ἕνε*[5]*κεν· ἄλλας δὲ μυρίας λίτρας συνήλ*[6]*λαξα εἰς τὴν πρώτην τετράμηνον·* [7] *ἄσπασε* (l. *ἄσπασαι*) *ἀπ' ἐμοῦ Ἑρμείαν καὶ Διόσκορον* [8] *τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἡμῶν· ἀσπάζεταί σε ὑμᾶς* (*sic*) [9] *Σιλβανὸς ὁ ἀδελφός· ἔρρωσθαί σε εὔχομαι πολλοῖς* [10] *χρόνοις κύριε ἀδελφέ·* [11] *ἀλλὰ παρακαλῶ κύριέ μου ἀδελφὲ χρησι*[12]*μευσάτω σοι τὸ ἄλας εἰς τὴν ταρσὸν ὅπως* [13] *τὴν λοιπάδαν εὕρωμεν ἐνταῦθα εἰς ὃ παι[* . Part of three lines in right margin beginning (cf. **692**) *οἶδας γὰρ*. Verso blank.

696. 14·8×12 cm. Upper part of letter from Melas to Narcissus. [1] *Κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ Ναρκίσσῳ* [2] *Μ̣έ̣λας χαίρειν·* [2] *θαρρῶν τ[ῇ] ἀγαθῇ σου προαιρέ*[3]*σει γράφω ἐν[τ]ελλόμενος περὶ τῶν* [4] *ἡμετέρ̣ων ὅπως συνβουλεύσῃς* [5] *αὐτοῖς [μ]ετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας* [6] *τ̣ε̣μ̣.̣πασι ὅ̣λον τὸ ἄλας ἐν βα*[7]*ύναις δεκαοκτώ· ἀλλ' ἵνα* (*ἵνα* P.) *μοι* [8] *ἐλθόντες μαρτυρήσωσι τὰ περί σου·* [9] *οἶδας γ̣ὰ̣ρ̣ κ̣ἂ̣ν̣ μὴ εἰπῶ ὅτι οὐ* [. Along the fibres on the verso [*Μέλας*] *Ναρκίσσῳ*.

697. 11·2×10·7 cm. End of a letter, also probably from Melas, of which parts of the last three lines only remain.

698. 12·8×12 cm. Lower part of letter written in the same hand as **695** and (probably) **696**. Four very incomplete lines are followed by a list of greetings. Names mentioned are Dioscorus, Dioscurides, Aphobus, Olympius, Silvanus, Psanes, and Philippus. Verso blank.

699. 11×27 cm. Third century A.D. Beginnings of ten lines of a magical text for the most part consisting of meaningless magical words. Letters are arranged in groups and are often underlined. Broken at top and at foot, and on the right. [1] *επε..λ̣ο̣σμ̣ο̣.λι̣ ελεωνπρωδ̣*[[2] *πληρ ( ) μητρα επικαλομενε βαρβαρ̣ο̣υ̣*[[3] *αισαηλ σιμορικα ραβουνι ελε*[[4] *ελεσαβατανι βωθωηλ εκα̣*[[5] *κεν.....φουκ.*[[6] *μαρθι λι̣ρ̣[.]α̣να με*[[7] *αβλα ναθα αιχα*[[8] *μηρωκρανον+επ̣*[[9] *μακαιπεντιν̣[.]ω̣[.]φ*[[10] *σε καὶ ευεμετ.*[.

(*c*) BYZANTINE

700. 17·7 × 16 cm. Fourth century. Official letter, incomplete on left side and at bottom, addressed to the *curator* and *nyktostrategi* of Antinoupolis, apparently threatening them with penalties for failing to repay a loan. Probably at least half has been lost. [1]] λογιστῇ [2]]ιῳ νυκτιστρατήγοις Ἀντινόου χαίρειν· [3]]φων ἕνεκα χρυσίο̣υ Ἡρακλείου μὲν τοῦ [4]]ι̣οχου γενομένης ὑπὲρ τῶν προχρη[5][?σθέντων] λόγος ὀφείλει φροντίσατε ἀκολούθως [6] [τὰ προ]χρησθέντα ἐπείγοντας ὑμᾶς (ϋμας P.) πρὸς [7]]ων ἐκ τάξεως ἀποσταλέντων νῦν γοῦν ἀπο [8]]υμένων τὴν ἀπόδοσιν διπλασίονα [9]] μάλιστ' ὅτι ἀμελλητεὶ καὶ χωρίς τινος [10]]. προσῆκεν τοῦ κυρίου μου Νεβριδίου [11]].
[[. . τ̣ι̣ τίς ἐστιν]] ἀδελφε
Docket written by second hand in upper margin Σα]ραπίωνος β(ενε)φ(ικιαρίου) καὶ Μαμορ(ίου) ὀφ(φικιαλίου).

701. 14·8 × 12·3 cm. Foot of a column containing beginnings of 19 lines. From a record of proceedings before a local senate (?) concerning a division of house property, 30 July A.D. 305. [1] ..ἡ]γεμονία ἡμίσο[υς [2] ὑπ]ά̣ρ̣χει μοι ὅπερ δ̣ι̣[[3] κοινὸς ἡ οἰκία Τα̣σ̣[[4] [.]β[..]ως ὁ μὲν π̣ρ̣[[..].ετρι̣βετο πρὸς π̣[[6] λη ἥτινα (l. ἥτις) ἑ̣κ̣οῦσα οὔτε ἀκί̣ν̣[ητος [7] μέρος τῆς οἰκίας προφάσι ὡς αὐτῇ̣ς̣ [[8] ἐλευθέρους καὶ μήτε συγγενῶν αυ̣.[[9] γουσι ἀρχόντων εἰς τὰ αὐτῷ διαι̣ρ̣[[10] ἄνθρωποι ἐλεύθεροι ὅθεν καὶ ὡς ε̣ι̣[[11] τα ὄντων μηδὲ ὑβριστι̣[(ϋβρ, Pap.) [12] διαιρέσεως Τασα..ο̣.....[[13] εἰς πάντα ἡμῖν βοηθήσαιται (l. βοηθήσεται) καὶ ε̣ι̣[[14] σ̣ας χρ[ό]ν[[ω]]ον ἐὰν δοκιμάσῃς ου..[..]αλει.[[15] τη τ̣ύ̣χ̣ῳ διὰ παντὸς ὡμολογήσω (l. ὁμ.) δι[α [16] .ἑκατέρωθεν ὁμολογοίη τὸ κοινὸν ὑμῶν εἶ̣ν̣[αι [17] ἀρχόντων λήμψεσθαι κλήρῳ κολλημάτω[ν. [18] Paragraphus. (2nd hand) Αὐρήλιος Πατερμοῦθις ἄρξα(ς) βουλ(ευτὴς). (3rd hand) τηρουμένων μοι τῶν δικαί[ων [19] φανερόν μοι ἐγένετο. (2nd hand) (ἔτους) ιγ// και α∫// Μεσορὴ ϛ̄.

702. 8 × 24 cm. Recto, minutes of legal proceedings in Latin and Greek, the same hand being responsible for both. Early fourth century. Space at top, perhaps head of column. [1]]opponere ad caụ[s]am pr[[2] Space of 1 line [3]]ṛ Ma[n]lius f̣a. aproḅ[(*or* Apro b[?) [4]]M. Apṛị curaṭ[o]ṛ[i]ḅus et [[5]]uorum *space* [6]] (et) tamquam in princ[[7] neq]ụe credidimus rem ịṭ[a [8]]tus dix(it) ὡς περὶ α̣ὐτοῦ ο̣[[9]].⁻ ὁ ὑμέτερος Πόπλιος [[10]].ο̣ιαν ἀπεδο̣ι̣εν (*sic*) ἐν τῇ .[[11]]αν ταύτῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ χ̣[ρωμεν [12]]λους· ἔδει οὖν [[13]] λα[.]. πρὸ τη[[14]]χ̣α̣[.] τινες̣ τ̣ο̣[[15]]α̣ι̣ το με[[16]]ν τῷ υ̣[. Verso, beginnings of 12 lines, fourth century, probably order for payment. [1] Παῦλος Θεοδώρῳ [2] ἀρτοκόπῳ χ(αίρειν). [3] δὸς Ἑρμοῦ (l. Ἑρμῇ) καὶ Παύλωι [4] Ἠλίας̣ ἀπὸ εὐτ̣υχία[ς [5] δὸς τηροῦσι τὰ χώ[ματα(?).

703. 25·1 × 9·1 cm. First half of fourth century. A group of shepherds bind themselves by oath not to allow their flocks to stray. Seidl (*Der Eid*) does not cite an exact parallel to this case. At least two-thirds of the text are missing. [1] Ο]ὐέτρανος καὶ Σιλβανὸς καὶ Τ. [2]]νος καὶ Αὔηλ παρ' αὐτὸς (l. παρ' αὐτοῦ) καὶ Παν- [3]] Ἡρᾶς Ἡρηναίῳ (l. Εἰρ.) καὶ Κανέῃ Παύλ̣ο̣[υ] [4]]ο̣σε ὁμολογοῦμεν ὀμνύ[5][οντες τὴν τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν αὐτοκρατόρ]ω̣ν τύχην μὴ ἐπαφῖναι [6] κατ]ανέμεσθαι ἀλλὰ ἐν τῇ Σαλ̣ῇος γῇ ε..λ̣ε̣ι̣ [7]]μ̣ω̣ν ἐπαφῖσεν τοῖς 'ἀλλοτρίοις' ἄγροις [8]] καὶ μηδένα ἐψεῦσθαι καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθέντες) ὡμολογ(ήσαμεν) [9] [ὑπατείας.....τῶν λαμ]π̣ρ̣ο̣τάτω̣ν Φαῶφι ιη̄.

704. 31·5 × 26·8 cm. Fourth century (probably second half). Draft of official account, written in a large, sprawling hand. The account covers the grain collected in a period of three months; most of it is destined for the κανών, but deductions are made whose nature is obscure and may be concealed by the εικ( ) which is prefixed to them (see Preisigke, *WB*. s.v.). The rate of deduction is constant at just under 5 per cent. of the total. The total of 456,592 artabas is high when we remember that at the beginning of the fourth century Egypt exported annually 2,000,000 artabas to Byzantium and Heracleia for the annona (A. Segrè, *Byzantion*, XVI (1942–3), pp. 399 ff.); the figure given is probably the total for the quarter-year due from either the Thebaid or Herculia for all purposes. Provenance and other details are missing. [1] α χειρ(ογραφουμέναι) τ̣ν̣ νω̣ι κρ( ).πίων σίτου (ἀρτ.) (μυρ.) η,Δτκη∟ϐ [2] ὧν [3] καν(όνος) (μυρ.) ητιγ εικ( ) (ἀρτ.) ,Διεϐ [4] β χειρ(ογραφουμέναι) (μυρ.) ϛ,Ηυλα [5] ὧν [6] κανόνος (μυρ.) ϛ,Εροβ∟ εικ( ) (ἀρτ.) Γ,σνη∟ [7] γ χειρογρ(αφουμέναι) (μυρ.) κη,Δχ.β̣ [8] ὧ̣[ν καν]όνος (μυρ.) κζα,ϛρϛ,u [9] {ὧν κανό[νος]} εικ( ) (ἀρτ.) (μυρ.) α,Γφν̣[ε]ν' [10] γίν(ονται) ὁ̣μοῦ̣ τῶν β̣ [χει]ρ(ογρ.) (μυρ.) [...]σ̣οθ [11] κου̣φ(ιζ.) β̣ χειρ(ογρ.) (μυρ.) ς̣,Εροβ∟ [12] λοιπ(αὶ) εἰς τρίμη̣(νον) χειρ(ογραφουμέναι) (μυρ.) κζ ,Αρϛd [13] εικ( ) (ἀρτ.) (μυρ.) α,Γφνεγ' [14] γίν(ονται) ὁμοῦ (μυρ.) με,ϛφϙβ [15] κουφ(ίζονται) ὑπὲρ α χειρ(ογρ.) (μυρ.) θ. Lines 10 and 11 are enclosed in a bracket, as also are ll. 14 and 15. In l. 1 νωι may be a place-name. On the verso is a list (λόγος σίτου δ ἰνδικ(τίονος) of payments of corn made to individuals (30 artabas is the highest amount, most are much smaller). The following names are not found in the *Namenbuch*: Πηεῖς l. 6, Ἱεροβοὸς (genitive) l. 10, Ποσιπὰν l. 18, Πασίθυτος l. 20. Βασιλειδής (l. 3) is found together with Πασιλειδής (l. 19).

705. Official accounts. 21·1×11·2 cm. *c.* middle of the fourth century. ? Antinoe. Broken at left side and at bottom. Account of unspecified goods, calculated in pounds, collected from the communities of Upper Egypt (cf. P. Ant. 33). [1] *? ἀπαιτήσε]ως γενομένη[ς] ὑπὸ Ἀμμωνίου* [2] *].ς δι' Ἀβανινίου ἐπιστάτου* [3] *] λι(τρ.) Γ,χκθ* [4] *]γενομένης ὑπὸ Νεοπτολέμου* [5] *]ς καὶ Τιβερίου χρ(ηματίζοντος) δι(ὰ) Ἥρωνος* [6] *] λι(τρ.) ,ϛυιηL* [7] *]κ* [8] *τ]ης ἐργασίας μετεβλήθησαν* [9] *Πτολ]εμαίῳ Τριμώρου ἀπὸ Τεντύρης* [10] *]καις [ ]ιος* [11] *]λῃσμ[* [12] *]εων [ ]λι(τρ.) (μυρ.) [.]ρ[* [12] *] ἀπαιτήσεως καὶ τῶν [με]ταβλη*[13]*θέντων..x* ll.. *τῶ]ν δωρηθέντων ὑπ[ὸ τ]ης θείας* [14] *]ων λι(τρ.) (μυρ.) Γ,ζψηζL* [15] *] ἐκκείμενον λιτρισ[μο]ῦ διὰ τοῦ]του διασημοτάτου Λαλικίου* [16] *]ει ἐν λι(τρ.) (μυρ.) Δ,βτυθL [..] λι(τρ.) Δ,χλβ* [17] *γίν]εται λι(τρ.) Ε,φπεL* [18] *].ς* [19] *]ς λι(τρ.) νγL* [20] *]κων λι(τρ.) Β,χϛς* [21] *? Ἀντινο]υπόλεως λι(τρ.) Β,ωλς* [22] *? Πα]νίσκου ἐπὶ τῆς Μαξιμιανοῦ πόλεως* [23] *]...κη[...]ν.* Verso blank.

706. 15·1×26 cm. Early fourth century. Part of a petition addressed to the Prefect by a citizen of Antinoupolis in matrimonial difficulties. Probably well over half has been lost. [1] *] ἡγεμόνι* [2] *ἀ]πὸ Ἀντινόου πόλεως τῆς λαμπροτάτης* [3] *? συνελήλυθ]α πρὸς γάμου κοινωνίαν Ἡλίᾳ τινει* (l. *τινι*) [4] *].παῖδα ἀλλὰ πρὸ τῆς γέννας τοῦ κοινοῦ* [5] *ἔ]γγυον* (? l. *ἔγκυον*) *οὖσαν ὅμως ἦκεν πρός μαι* (l. *με*) *τὸν πα*[6]*τέρα x* ll. missing *]υ πλεῖστα τοίνυν ἀναλώματα πεποίημαι* [7] *]τοῦ παιδὸς δι' ὁλῆς τριετείας εἰς δεῦρο καὶ προς* [8] *]σιον ἑαυτοῦ τέκνον καὶ εἰς τὴν σύμβιον τὴν* [9] *]ως ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ἐπει ο τε〈 〉 'καὶ' αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ὁ πατὴρ* [10] *ἀ]ναγκέων* (l. *ἀναγκαίων*) *ἐκείνου ἀγνωμονοῦντος λέγω δὴ* [11] *]δεσπότα ἡγεμὼν ἀξιῶν καὶ ἱκετεύων* (ἵκετευων P.) *προς* [12] *]αν τὴν ἐμὴν .[.]ανη[..]* [13] *]τουτῷ χρόνῳ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κἀμὲ* [14] *]ν μεῖναι ἐπεὶ τῆς ἡδείας* [15] *] Μέλας ἐπιδέδωκα* [16] *].μαρτιων.* After a space, in second hand: [17] *γ]εγραμμένου πεποι* [18] *? π]ιστεύων.* On the verso is an account which to judge from the price level is not likely to be later than the third decade of the century: [1] *λακήματος ὀσπρέων* [2] *γόμου φακοῦ* (ἀρτ.) *ιδ ἐκ* (δρ.) *Γ* (τάλ.) [ζ] [3] *ἀράκου* (ἀρτ.) *α ἐκ* (δρ.) *Βδ [,* [4] *γόμου φάκου* (ἀρτ.) *η ἐκ* (δρ.) *Γω* (τάλ.) *ε* (δρ.) *υ* [5] *ἀράκου* (ἀρτ.) *ζL ἐκ* (δρ.) *Γσ* (τάλ.) *δ* [6] *κρίθ(ης)* (ἀρτ.) *α ἐκ* (δρ.) *Β* [7] *φασήλου* (ἀρτ.) *α ἐκ* (δρ.) *Γφ* [8] *γόμου κρίθ(ης)* (ἀρτ.) *βγ'' ἐκ* (δρ.) *Βρ* (δρ.) *ἐ* (*sic*) [9] *ϙίτου* (ἀρτ.) *ϛ 〈ἐκ〉* (δρ.) *Β* (blank) [10] *γόμου φασήλου* (ἀρτ.) *γ ἐκ* (δρ.) *〈Γφ〉* (τάλ.) *α* (δρ.) *Δε* [11] *φάκου* (ἀρτ.) *ε 〈ἐκ〉* (δρ.) *Γω* (τάλ.) *γ* (δρ.) [*ἀ*] [12] *κρίθ(ης)* (ἀρτ.) *β 〈ἐκ〉* (δρ.) *Ε* (blank). The fluctuation in price paid for the same goods is worth notice. Line 1 does not enable us to fix the meaning of the puzzling word *λάκημα* (*? lot, delivery*), but Preisigke's suggestion (*WB.* s.v.) *eine nicht näher bekannte Weinsorte* is clearly wrong.

707. 10·6×4·4 cm. Sixth/seventh century. Receipt for payment of taxes. [1] + *Ἐσχ(ον) δι(ὰ) Ἰωάννο(υ) γεωργῷ* (l. *-οῦ*) *ἀ(πὸ) λόγ(ου) δημοσί(ων)* [2] *πεμπτῆς ἰνδ(ικτί)ο(νος) χρυσοῦ κεράτια* [3] *τρία γί(ν.) χρ(υσοῦ) κ(εράτια) γ''. Ἰπκυλις σὺν θ(εῷ) διαστολ(εὺς)* [4] *δι' ἐμοῦ Δωροθέο(υ) υἱοῦ αὐτο(ῦ) συμφ(ωνῶ).*

708. 7·21×21 cm. Seventh century. Across the fibres: folded three times. Letter demanding payment for rent addressed to a village in the Hermopolite nome. Verso blank. [1] *π(αρὰ) Γέρων δ(ιὰ) Ἀπρ( ).* [2] + *Ζολ-λο[. πρεσβ]υτέρ(ῳ) καὶ πρωτοκ(ωμήταις) κώμ(ης) Σενόμβω. ἐπειδὴ ἔγρ[αψα ὑμῖν]* [3] *γράμματ᾽ [φ]όρον συντέλεσαι ὑπὲρ τῆς σπαρείσης π.[ ]* [4] *κώμης.π.ουν π᾽ασκευάσατ[ε] ἑκάτερον διαιτ..ηλε.[* (faint traces of one more line).

709. Sale of a slave. 13·8×8·5 cm. Early fourth century. To judge from parallel documents (for a list of sales of slaves see O. Montevecchi in *Aegyptus*, xix (1939), pp. 11 f.; the closest parallel to **709** is M. *Chr.* 171, where the wording of ll. 24–5 compares exactly with ll. 9 sq. below); about four-fifths of each line is missing. [1] *α]ὐ[τ]οκρ[άτ]οροϛ [.....]ρ...α[*[2]*τῶ]ν ἐπιφανεστάτῳ[ν Κ]αισάρων Εὐ[σεβῶν* [3] *βο]υλευτὴς τῆς αὐτ[ῆς π]όλεως Προ.[* [4] *]ωσταντιανης μ[...].ανης ἀναφε[* [5] *]ῳ οἰκογενὴ{ν} δ[ούλ]ην ὀνόματι[* [6] *]ὠνουμένῳ ἀπ[λῷ] χρήματι ου[* [7] *]ρ[....]ιδιων ἀ[π]εσχηκέναι [* [8] *].ϛ'' καὶ ιϛ'' καὶ γϛ'' καὶ ιβϛ'' καὶ [* [9] *καὶ τῶ]ν ἐκγόνων κυ[ρί]αν καὶ κρ[άτησιν χρωμένους καὶ οἰκονομοῦντας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καθ' ὃν ἐὰν αἱρῶνται τρόπον ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τῆς]* [10] *βεβαιώσε[ω]ϛ διὰ παν[τὸς* [11] *π]ερὶ μηδένο[ϛ τ]ῆσδε τῆϛ [πράσεως* [12] *]ο.[...]υ[.....]λιο[.].[* [13] *τ]ῷ ὠνο[μένῳ.* [14] (2nd hand) *]ιος βουλ(ευτὴς) [* In l. 6 *ἀπ[λῷ] χρήματι* has, to our knowledge, no exact parallel, and is obscure; but cf. the equally obscure *διπλῶ χρηματει* of Mitteis, *Chr.* 270, 14. L. 8: the regnal years should be those of Diocletian and Maximian, with their respective Caesars; if they are, the writer has miscalculated, or placed the years in the wrong order.

710. 11×15 cm. Fourth century. Beginnings of lines from end of a contract of loan of 15 artabas of wheat borrowed by Aurelius Ammonius.

711. 18×23 cm. Sixth century. Parts of 20 lines from the conclusion of a contract, whose nature is unknown. The subscribers are *Φλ(αύιο)ϛ Φουκᾶς, Ψενα[μ]οῦν[ις], Ἀπολλών[ιος]* and *Νεῖλος [νοτάριος(?)] καὶ ἀπαιτητὴς τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης* (not known where). Written on 20th Mecheir of [.th indiction].

712. 31·5×10 cm. Private letter. Sixth century. Across the fibres. Although this text is apparently complete (there is a margin of *c.* 2·5 cm. above l. 1), the absence of any names in the text itself and of an address on the back suggests that it is an addendum to a longer letter. [1] *καταξιῶ[σο]ν δὲ τ᾽αῦτα σκ[ο]πεῖν*

εἰς τὰς φ[.]λουστια[ς] μ[.....]ικουσι γενομένα τῶν ὀφειλό[ντω]ν.ει.[..] [2] πρὸς π[.].σαντε ποθαν (? ἀντεπόθουν) σβεσθῆναι καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπ[ον....] αὐτὸν εἶναι περὶ ἐμὲ καὶ γράφειν μοι ἐπειδὴ μὴ [δ]ύνωμαι [3] δι' ἐμαυτοῦ ἐλθεῖν σήμερον πρὸ[ς τὴν σ]ὴν ἀρετὴν κατεχόμενος διὰ τὰ [δ]ημόσια· ἐσκόπησα (sic) γὰρ ὡς εἰ δοθείη [4] τὸ χρυσῖον εὑρεθήσεται μὲν ὁ λαμπρότατος το '[.].το' αὐτὸ περιποιήσας αὐτῷ· ἐγὼ δὲ ἔτι ἐν προσκρούσει ἔχων τὴν αὐτὴν [5] ὑπόνοιαν εἰς αὐτὸν ὡς λελυπημένον εἰς ἐμέ· ἕκαστον οὖν ἀκριβῶς σκοπήσας δηλῶσόν μοι.

713. 10×17·6 cm. Early fourth century. On the recto is a statement of the amounts paid for packing butter. [1] καταγ⟨γ⟩ισμοῦ ἀργύρ(ιον), [2] ᾱ βουτύρων (βουττ' P.) μ[υρ(ιάδ.) [3] β̄ ὁμοίως μ[υρ(ιάδ.), [4] γ̄ ὁμοί(ως) μ[υρ(ιάς) [5] δ̄ ὁμοί(ως) μ[υρ(ιάδ.)] ιζ̄ δην. 'Zφ [6] ε̄ ὁμοί(ως) μυ[ρ(ιάς.)] ι (δην.) 'Δ. On the verso are parts of two columns of another account, of which the second is too fragmentary and abraded for transcription. Col. i, ll. 1–7: (ὧν) ἀναλώματ(α) [2] „Μασκελλίωνι εἰς σκαπλάρ(ιον) μυρ(ιάδ.) ιε [3] „ὁμοί(ως) ἄλλ(οις) [. .] . ιϙ̣ [....] μυρ(ιάδ.) ζ̄ (δην.) 'Δ [4] „τιμ(ῆς) ὁλοκο[ττί]νων [ὡ]ς παρ(ὰ) μ(υρ.)γ γ(ίν.) μ(υριάδ.) ιη (δην.) 'Γφ [5] „τιμ(ῆς) βουτ[ύ]ρων εἰς καταγγισμὸν (δην.) 'B [6] „Ἄμαρ ὑ(πὲρ) μεταφορ(ᾶς) ἀργυρ(ίου) (δην.) ω [7] „.[...].καὶ 'Ολυμπίῳ εἰ[ς τ]ὴν ὁδὸν (δην.) 'Δ. The names Dioscorus, Hermes, and Olympius all occur in the fragmentary col. ii; as these, although all are common, all occur in the Theophanes archive, it is possible that **713** also belongs there. It must, however, in any case be later than the travel accounts, in view of the increase in the value of the *solidus*. σκαπλάρ(ιον) in l. 2 is probably the Latin *scapularium*.

714. 28×10·5 cm. Sixth century. Along the fibres. Account in coin and money. Probably Hermopolite. [1] +κώμ(ης) Πι( ) ὑ(πὲρ) τιμ(ῆς) [[2] δ(ιὰ) Γεωργ(οῦ) ἱερ(έως) σί(του) (ἀρτ.) μηd''η, [3] δ(ιὰ) Φλ(αυίου) Ἡγεμ(όνος) (ηγεμμς P.) ἀπατόρ(ος) σί(τ.) (ἀρτ.) νd''η, [4] δ(ιὰ) Ἀνὸρ Περιδ( ) σί(τ.) (ἀρτ.) η [5] δ(ιὰ) Συρίου πρεσβ(υτέρου) σί(τ.) (ἀρτ.) β δ(ιὰ) τῶν γεωρ(γῶν) (ὑπὲρ) σπερμωβολ(ίας) νο(μ.) β [6] δ(ιὰ) Μακαρ(ίου) ἀπὸ Τ̣έκο(υ) νο(μ.) γ κ(ερ.) η [7] Ἀπολλ(ῶτι) ἀπὸ Πι( ) εἰ̣ς γῃ( ) νο(μ.) α κ(ερ.) ϛ [8] Μὴν Ἀστολ( ) νο(μ.) δ κ(ερ.) ιβ [9] Ἀνοῦφ(ι) Παύ̣λ(ου) λ̣( ) χ....( ) σί(τ.) (ἀρτ.) κθ [10] Κελάποτι (ὑπὲρ) ἐνοικ(ίου) κ(ερ.) β [11] δ(ιὰ) τῶν γεωρ(γῶν) Ἀκελμου κ(ερ.) κδ [12] ,γί(ν.) σί(τ.) (ἀρτ.) ρλεL [13] ,σί(τ.) (ἀρτ.) πγL [14] Ἀπολλ(ῶτι) νο(μ.) α κ(ερ.) ϛ [15] Μὴν Ἀστολ( ) νο(μ.) δ κ(ερ.) βL [16] τῶν ἐπὶ Θαλλ(οῦ) κ(ερ.) ιεL. On verso five lines of accounts, faded.

715. 11·5×16·5 cm. Fifth century. Account of corn. Village names show provenance is Oxyrhynchus. ☩ γνῶσις κώμης Νόμου [2] ὑπὲρ ἐμβολῆς ἐνάτης ἰνδικ(τίονος). [3] σίτου ῥυπαροῦ ἀρτάβας [4] ἑβτομή[κοντα] (l. ἑβδ-) πέντε μόνα (l. -ας) [5] (γίνονται) σίτου ἀ̣ρ[τ(άβαι)] ο̣ε̣ μό(ναι). Παχὼν β̄. [6] δι' ἐμοῦ Πραοῦ ἐγρ(άφη) [7] καὶ ἐν κώμ(ῃ) Ἰέμῃ Παχὼν γ̄ [8] θ̣ ἰνδικ(τίονος) σίτου ῥ̣υπαροῦ [ἀρτά]βας πεντήκοντα μόνα (l. -ας) [10] (γίνονται σίτου ἀρτάβαι) ν μό(ναι).

716. 10·2×13·2. Fifth or sixth century. List of names against which are set amounts in κερ(άμια). Ten lines. Among the names which occur are Φιλώξενος, Θευνάτωρ, Ὀρηπιόδωρος, Κυλίλλως, Μινάτωλο[ς], Φισιτηλ̣[.]., Αἴλιτρος.

717. A large number of small unclassified fragments.

INDEXES[1]

I. MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY TEXTS

(*a*) Greek

ἄγνια **552.** 6.
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εὖδειν **552.** 3.
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καί **552.** 5.
κούρα (?) **552.** 6.
ὁρᾶν **552.** 3.
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συναρωγός (?) **552.** 4.
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(*b*) Latin

cognitio **553.** 6.
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non **553.** 5.
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renovare **553.** 10 (?).
Roma **553.** 7.
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terminare **553.** 2.
vel **553.** 7.

II. KINGS, EMPERORS, REGNAL YEARS, ETC.

(*a*) Kings and Emperors

Alexander **581.** ii. 2; **583.** 1, 43; **587.** 4; **588.** 3.
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Ptolemy Euergetes I, *θεοὶ Εὐεργέται* **581.** ii. 2; **583.** 2, 43.
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— (*πρῶτον ἔτος*) *ὡς βασίλισσα Κλεοπάτρα καὶ βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος ὁ υἱὸς θεοὶ Ἐπιφανεῖς ἄγουσιν ἐν ᾧι καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν παρελάβοσαν* **589.** 108.
— *θεὸς Φιλομήτωρ* **581.** ii. 3.
— *θεοὶ Φιλομήτορες* **583.** 2, 44.
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Tiberius, *Τιβέριος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστός* **677.** 2.
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[1] Where the line number is in square brackets, the word in question has been supplied.

Caracalla, *θεὸς Σεούηρος Ἀντωνῖνος* **599.** 14.
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— *τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξ[ιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν]* **656.** 4.
— *τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν τῶν ἀνικ[ήτων βασιλέων]* **656.** 15.
— *Ἔτους ις καὶ ιε καὶ η τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν [καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ κτλ.]* **656.** 16.
— *οἱ δεσπόται ἡμῶν* **607.** 4.
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— *οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Αὐτ. σεβ.* **657.** 3–4.
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Anastasius, Anastasius piissimus ac triumfator semper Augustus **609.** 2.

Uncertain, **598.** 13 (*Θεοὶ Σεβαστοί*). dominus noster Imperator (? Hadrian) **608.** 3. *οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Αὐτ.* **703.** 5. *οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Αὐτ. τε καὶ Καίσαρες* **658.** 5.

(*b*) Regnal Years (Ptolemaic)

Philadelphus, Year 28 *Δύστρου ια* **556.** 13; **557.** 9. *Χοίαχ ιγ* **555.** 17.
— Year 29 *Δαισίου ι* **558.** 10 (cf. 6). *Δαισίου ιδ* **559.** 7.
— Year 30 *Λωίου ις Μεσορὴ ιγ* **560.** 4. *Λωίου ιδ Μεσορὴ ιδ* **560.** 5.
— Year 35 *Παῦνι[.]* **561.** 12. *Παῦνι κς* **562.** 28.
— Year 36 *Χοίαχ [ ]* **566.** 2. *Χοίαχ κ* **566.** 6. *Φαρμοῦθι α* **563.** 9. *Παχὼνς κε* **564.** 1. *Ὑπερβ(ερεταίου) κδ* **565.** 9.
Euergetes I, Year 12 *Μεσορή* **575.** 1, 3.
— Year 17 *Μεσορὴ κς* **573.** 13.
Philometor or Euergetes II, Year 35 *Μεχὶρ ις* **577.**
Euergetes II, Year 49 *Φαμενὼθ ια* **581.** i. 1; ii. 2.
Cleopatra, *ἔτους ιζ β Μεσορὴ ι* **593.** 12.
Uncertain, *ἔτους γ* **580.** 1, 3. (*ἔτους*) [.]*α Ἐπείφ [ ]* **665.** 16. (*ἔτους*) *ιη Φαῶφι* **672.** 6.

(*c*) Double Dates

(Year 30 of Philadelphus) *Λωίου ις Μεσορὴ ιγ; Λωίου ιδ Μεσορὴ ιδ* **560.** 4 and 5.
(Year 1 of Philometor, Euergetes, and Cleopatra) *μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ ἐνάτηι Φαῶφι ἐνάτηι* **583.** 3, 45.
(Year 30 of Soter II) *μηνὸς Δύστρου ἐνάτηι καὶ εἰκάδι, [Τῦβι ἐνάτηι καὶ] εἰκάδι* **587.** 6.
(Year 4 of Auletes) *μηνὸς Δίου ὀγδόηι Θωὺθ ὀγδόηι* **588.** 4.
(Year 11 of Cleopatra and Caesarion) *Αὐδναίου κθ καὶ Ἁθὺρ κθ* **582.** 4 (cf. 24, 26).
(Year 4 of Augustus) *μηνὸς Ὑπερβερεταίου Μεσορή* **601.** 2.

III. CONSULS AND INDICTIONS

(*a*) Consuls

ὑπατείας τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισά[ρων τὸ γ] (A.D. 300) **656.** 1.
ὑπ. τῶν δεσπ. ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Λικιννίου Σεβ. (312) **616.** 13.
[? *ὑπ. τῶν δεσπ.*] *ἡμῶν Μαξιμίνου καὶ Κ[ωνσταντίνου* (313) **619.** 7.
ὑπ. Φλ. Οὔρσου καὶ Πολεμίου τῶν λαμπροτ. (338) **660.** 8.
μετὰ τὴν ὑπ. Ἰουλιανοῦ τὸ δ καὶ Φλ. Σαλλουστίου τοῦ λαμπροτ. ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτ. (364) **662.** 1 sq.

Mario Maximo II, [Roscio A]eliano coss. (A.D. 223), **610.** 1.
Constantino Aug. VI et Licinio nob. Caes. 1 coss. (321) **653.** 1.
Sabiniano et Theodoro viris clarissimis coss. (505) **609.** 8.

(*b*) Indictions

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ἑνδεκατὴ ἰνδ. **652.** 5.
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ς νέα ἰνδ. **655.** 5.
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ιβ ἰνδ. **657.** 12.

IV. MONTHS AND DAYS

(*a*) Months

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Παχών **564.** 1; **571.** 1.

Σεβαστός **595.** 115, 126; **598.** 7.

Maius **610.** 1.
Sebastus **611.** 7.

(*b*) Days

νουμηνία **589.** 95, [125].
ἡ πρὸ ἐννέα καλενδῶν **652.** 7.
Σαμβ[**603** introd.

Σαμβαθ( ) **630*.** 475 (?).

dies iduum . . . **609.** 7.

dies III nonas Iunias (= *Παῦνι θ*) **653.** 1.
Sambatha **613.** 4.

V. PERSONAL NAMES

Ἀβανίνιος epistates **705.** 2.
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Ἀγρεοφῶν **575.** 10.
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Ἀθηναγόρας f. of Dionysius (alias Nikolaus s. of Onesimus) **585.** 1, 41.
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Αἰνείας **621**; 15.
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— senator **691.** 2, verso.
Ἀλέξανδρος **605.** 33; **630*.** 451.
Ἀλκιμήδης **674.** 11.
Ἄλων . . . s. of Heroninus **657.** 16.
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Ἀμμίμων f. of Anatolius **657.** 17.
Ἀμμώνιος f. of Ammonous **597.** 4.
— s. of Archedemos **600.** 3.
— *Αὐρήλιος* horiodeictes **656.** 22.
— *Αὐρήλιος* **710.**
— beneficiarius **657.** 14.
— s. of Cholus **642.** 12, 16, 18; **651.** 1.
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— dioecetes **554.** 2; **555.** 1, 17; **558.** 1; **560.** 1, 6; **563.** 3, 5.
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— f. of Petesouchus **595.** 60.
— s. of Petesouchus **595.** 69.
— f. of Petesouchus **595.** 69.
— s. of Petesouchus **595.** 142.
— f. of Petesouchus **595.** 142.
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— (contractor) **575.** 4, 23.
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— f. of Dioskous **595.** 67.
— s. of Harphaesis **595.** 122.
— f. of Herieus **595.** 68.
— s. of Horus **595.** 40.
— also called *Ἰσχεῖς* s. of Ischeis **595.** 21.
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— kinsman and strategos **579.** 1.
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Σκηπίων **595.** 156.
Σοκεύς s. of *Νεχανίς* **563.** 2.
Σοχώτης s. of Sesnosis **588.** 5, 14, 18, 27, 29, 35, 44.
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Τανῶφρις m. of Aur. Thaisa **662.** 4.
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Τιβέριός **705.** 5.
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Φάβουλλος **675.** 1.
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— f. of Dios **595.** 111.
— s. of Haruotes **595.** 103.
— f. of Hector **595.** 121.
— s. of Phaeis **595.** 22.
— f. of Phaeis **595.** 22.
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— s. of Horion **595.** 143.
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Ψο... f. of]psas **595.** 130.

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— s. of Petesouchus **595.** 79.
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— s. of Horion **595.** 113.
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— f. of Peinaus **595.** 39.
— f. of Peunis **681.** 2.
— s. of Pnepheros **595.** 15.
— f. of Ptolemy **682.** 4.
— f. of Sambas **595.** 40.
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]ις s. of Φανῶς **663.** ii. 3.
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..ξαιος **556.** 5.
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.ομεύς **595.** 157.
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.υσᾶς, Αὐρήλιος **683.** 1, 41.
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Aper, Marcus **703.** 3 (?), 4.
Apolinarius **654.** 2.
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Aurelius [ ], M. **610.** 9.

Calvius Lucinnianus, Q. **614.** 1.
Celer, Ulpius **608.** 1, verso 3.
Claudius Hermeros, *procurator Augusti* **608.** 1, verso 1.
Constantinius f. of Heracleon **609.** 4.

Delfinius **623.** 1.
Dyscolus **623.** 10.

Felix, M. Iulius **610.** 8.
Filippus **623.** 9.
Flavius Constantinius Theofanes (v. sub. Theofanes) **609.** 1.
— ...*alias* Theodotus, tribune **609.** 2.

Heracleon, s. of Constantinius **609.** 4.
Herais **611.** 5; **612.** 11.
Hermeros, Claudius *procurator Augusti* **608.** 1, verso 1.

Iper, Q. Iper *praeses Aegypti Herculeae* **653.** 12, 19.
Iulius Felix, Marcus **610.** 8.
....cles, M. **610.** 9.

Leontius **653.** 14.
Lucinnianus, Q. Calvius **614.** 1.
Lucius Titius [**610.** 8.

Manlius **702.** 3.
Marcus Aper **702.** 3 (?), 4.
— Aurelius [ ] **610.** 9.
— Iulius Felix **610.** 8.
— Iulius ....cles **610.** 9.
— Petronius Servillius **612.** 12.
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Petronius Servillius, Marcus **612.** 12.

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— Iper *praeses Aegypti Herculeae* **653.** 12, 19.

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Sarapammon, Terentius **610.** 8.
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Suimeros **613.** 8.

Terentius Sarapammon **610.** 8.
Theodorus, consul **609.** 8.
Theodotus, Flavius...*alias* Th. **609.** 2.
Theofanes, f. of Hephaistion and Horigenes **623.** 7.
Theofanes, Fl. Constantinius count of the household troops and of the military administration of the Thebaid frontier **609.** 1.
Titius [ ], Lucius **610.** 8.
Titus, f. (?) of Cl. Hermeros **608,** verso 1.

Ulpius Celer **608.** 1, verso 3.

Vitalis **623.** 2.
....cles, M. Iulius **610.** 9.

Zenarion **612.** 2.

VI. GEOGRAPHICAL

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Ἀρσινοίτης ἀπὸ Λυκίας **583.** 4, 47.
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Λυκία **583.** 47.

Μακεδών **585.** 43; **588.** 8.
Μαξιμιανοῦ πόλις **705.** 22.
Μέμφις **557.** 2, 4, 8, 9; **560.** 3; **564.** [20].
Μενδῆς **556.** [13].
Μενδήσιος (νομός), **557.** 4.
Μενελαίτης **616** (*a*). ii. 16.
μερίς **598.** 8; **596.** 3, 6; **682.** 1.
Μερκουριανὴ Αἴγυπτος. See s.v. *Ἡρκουλία.*
Μετηλείτης **616** (*a*). ii. 17.
Μηδικός **571.** 4.

Ναύκρατις **616** (*b*). 3.
Νικίου (πόλις) **627.** 224.
νομός **557.** 2; **573.** 10; **601.** 23; **652.** 12, 13, 15.

Ξοίτης **616** (*a*). ii. 4; (*b*). 9.

Ὀλούντιος **585.** 42.
Ὀνουφίτης **616** (*a*). ii. 5; (*b*). 8.
Ὀξυρυγχίτης (sc. *νομός*) **603**, verso; **630*.** 48; **689.** ii. 2; **691.** 10.
Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλις **599.** 4.
Ὀξυρύγχων πόλις **582.** 5; **599.** 7; **683.** 6; **691**, verso.
Ὀστρακίνη **627.** 233, 234; **628.** 8, 9; **630*.** 471.

Πάθυρις **581.** i. 10; ii. 6, 9.
Πάμφυλοι **583.** 5, 47.
Πανοπολίτης **639.** 133, 183.
Παράλιος **616** (*a*). ii. 10; (*b*). 15.
Παχνεμοῦνις **616** (*a*). ii. 7; (*b*). 12.
Πεντάσχοινον **627.** 231, 232; **628.** 6, 7; **630*.** 483.
Πέρσης **581.** ii. 4, 10.
— Π. τῆς ἐπιγονῆς **583.** 4, 5, 47; **587.** 8, 27; **588.** 9; **601.** 5, 19, 32; **602.** 4.
Περσίνη **586.** 21; **587.** 10, 29.
Πηλούσιον **627.** 211, 229, 230, 263; **628.** 4, 5; **630*.** 486.
Πολέμωνος (μερίς) **587.** 6; **596.** 13; **656.** 8.
Πόλις (= Alexandria) **624.** 9.
Προσωπίτης **616** (*b*). 5.
Πτολεμαὶς Εὐέργετις **588.** 4; **601.** 3.
Πτολεμαὶς τῆς Θηβαΐδος **586.** ii. 4, 5.

Ῥάκωτις **576.** 5.
Ῥαφία **627.** 236. 237, 314; **628.** 11, 12; **630*.** 436; **638.** 21, 22.
Ῥινοκόρουρα, Ῥινοκόρωνα **627.** 234, 235; **628.** 9, 10; **630*.** 454; **638.** 23.
Ῥόδος **554.** 5.

Σαρμάται **627.** 276, 299, 307, 308.
Σεβεννύτης ἄνω **616** (*a*). ii. 5; (*b*). 10.

Τᾶνις **627.** 227, 228; **628.** 2, 3.
Τεντύρα **705.** 9.
τοπαρχία **597.** 6.
— ἑβδόμη ἐνάτη **656.** 5.
— μέση τ. **579.** 3.

Φθέμουθ **616** (*a*). ii. 2; (*b*). 7.
Φθένοτυ **616** (*a*). ii. 18.
Φράγονις **616** (*a*). ii. 6; (*b*). 11.

Χώρα, Ἀλεξ. X. **616** (*a*). ii. 15.
χώρα **572.** 32.
. . .νίδης **587.** 24.
]πόλις τῆς Θηβαΐδος **669.** i. 2.

Aeguptus **654.** 15. A. Herculea **653.** 11, 19.
Arsinoites nomus **611.** 3.
Arsinoitum civitas **653.** 1.

Civitas, Arsinoitum C. **653.** 1. C. Hermopolitana **609.** 5. C. Hermopolitanorum **623.** 7. C. Oxurunchitarum **654.** 1, 2.

Hermopolitani, civitas H. **623.** 7.
Hermopolitanus, civitas H. **609.** 5.
Hermopolis **609.** 2.
Herculea, Aegyptus H. **653.** 11, 19.

limes, Thebaicus l. **609.** 1.

nomus **611.** 3.

Oxurunchita **654.** 1, 2.

pagus **653.** 12, 19; **654.** 2.
Panopolis **608**, verso 3.

Thebaicus limes **609.** 1.
Thebais **623.** 8.

(*b*) Cities, etc., in Syria

Ἀβέλλα **630*.** 408.
Ἀλλαγή, ἡ (= *Βήταρον*) **627.** 242, 243; **628.** 17, 18; **630*.** 385.
Ἀντάραδος (-βος) **627.** 271, 327, 328.
Ἀντιοχία **627.** 331; **639** introd.
Ἀντιπατρίς **627.** 241, 242; **628.** 16, 17; **630*.** 404; **638.** 17, 18.
Ἄρκαι **627.** 326, 327.
Ἀσκάλων **627.** 213, 238, 239, 315; **628.** 13, 14; **630*.** 416; **638.** 19, 20.

Βαλανεῖον, Βαλανέα **627.** 272, 273, 328, 329.
Βήταρον, (Βέταρον) ἀλλάγη B. **630*.** 399; **638.** 17.
Βίβλος **627.** 325; **628.** 24, 25; **630*.** 315; **638.** 9, 10.
Βιρυτός **627.** 245, 246, 287; **628.** 23, 24; **638.** 10, 11.
Βότρυς **638.** 9, 10.
Βουτάφιον, Βουτάφις **627.** 235, 236; **628.** 10, 11; **638.** 22, 23.

Γάζα **627.** 237, 238, 264; **628.** 12, 13; **638.** 20, 21.

Δάφναι **627.** 332, 333.

Εἰαμία **627.** 239, 240; **628.** 14, 15; **638.** 18, 19.

Ζανάρα **627.** 246, 247; **628.** 21, 22.

Θεουπρόσωπον **627.** 324; **630*.** 312.

Ἴβελλα **627.** 329, 330.

Καισαρεία, Κεσαρία **627.** 243, 244, 282, 296; **628.** 18, 19; **630*.** 388; **638.** 15, 16.
Κατὰ Ὕδατα **630*.** 237.

Λαδικία (Λαυδ.) **627.** 276, 288, 291, 292, 330, 331; **638.** 246.
Λούνδα **627.** 240, 241; **628.** 15, 16.

Πτολεμαίς **627.** 244, 245; **628.** 19, 20; **638.** 13, 14.

Σιδόνιον, Σιδών **627.** 247, 248, 286; **628.** 22, 23; **630*.** 350; **638.** 11, 12.
Σιδώνιος **554.** 3.
Συκάμινος **638.** 14, 15.

Τρίπολις **627.** 325, 326; **628.** 25.
Τύρος **627.** 245, 246; **628.** 20, 21; **630*.** 503; **638.** 12, 13.

Ὕδατα, τὰ Ὑ. **627.** 331, 332.

(c) Alexandrian Demes and ἄμφοδα elsewhere

Αἰακαδεύς **584.** 13.
Γυμνάσιον (*ἄμφοδον* of Arsinoe) **656.** 3.
Ἡφαιστιεύς **584.** 12.
πο( ) (= πολίτης?) **584.** 12.

(d) Villages, *κτήματα*, *ἐποίκια*, etc.

(i) *Arsinoite*

Αὐῆρις **563.** 2.
Ἀνδρομαχίς **653.** 6.
Ἀφροδίτη Βερενίκης **586.** 2.
Θεαδέλφεια **659.** 2.
Κερκεσοῦχα **570.** 2; **596.** 7, 15, 16.
Καρανίς **594.** 1; **596.** 11; **600.** 6; **601.** 1, 12, 14, 28; **605.** 29; **682.** 3.
πόλις (= Theadelphia) **659.** 17.
Τάνις **575.** 19.
Τέβτυνις τῆς Πολέμωνος μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου **587.** 6.
Φαρβαίθων κώμη **572.** 15.
Ψεναρψένησις **594.** 13; **601.** 7, 21.
Φιλαδέλφεια **563.** 10; **575.** 12; **578.** 3; **583.** 3, 45, 48; **595.** 2, 191; **605.** 21; **669.** i. 8.
Φιλώτερις **656.** 5.

Philadelphia **612.** 12.
Philadelphi vicus **611.** 3.

(ii) *Hermopolite*

Ἀκελμοῦ **714.** 11.
Βωοῦ **648.** 8.
Ἡλία **642.** ii. 2, 4, 8, 11; **650.** 1, 2.
Θαλλοῦ **642.** 9; **714.** 16.
Λυσιμάχου, τὸ Λ. (? *ἐποίκιον*) **642.** 7 (?); **651.** 5.
Μαγδῶλα **648.** 4.
Ὀξυπε[**643**, verso 8.
Ὀξυ... **639.** 210.
Ὄφεως **648.** 5.
Πι( ) **714.** 1, 7.
Σέλλεχ **648.** 9.
Σενόμβω **708.** 2.
Σερβίττιον **643.** ii. 7.
Σεσιύ **640.** 5; **648.** 6.

Ταρίσε **639.** 210.
.ουψ **648.** 7.

(iii) *Oxyrhynchite*

Ἰέμη **715.** 7.
Νόμου **715.** 1.
Σένεπτα **677.** 4.
Σκώ **683.** 4, 8.
Τακολκεῖλις **681.** 1.
Τῆις **597.** 5.
Ψῶβθις **579.** [3].

(iv) *Miscellaneous*

Ἀμπελῶν, ὁ Ἀ. **630*.** 553.
Μεία (Memphite) **562.** 7.
Προ[**709.** 3.
Ψεννέκτενις (perhaps personal name) **667.** ii. 7.

(e) Miscellaneous

ἔδαφος Μεσσαλειλιανός **684.** 3.
ἐλαιών **600.** 6.
θέατρον **627.** 219.
κάτω: οἱ κάτω τόποι **572.** 43.
κῆπος: ὁ Σιμαρίστου κῆπος **576.** 19.
κλῆρος **582.** 8; **601.** 6; **686.** 4.
κληρουχία: ὁ κληρουχία **596.** 10.
παράδισος **686.** 5.
πέδιον **596.** 15.
περίχωμα πολ.. **683.** 8.
Πεσούη (*τόπος*) **656.** 11.
Πληβον (*τόπος*) **656.** 13.
πραιτώριον **662.** 3.
προνώπιον **627.** 214.
Συνλαυρίτης (?) **606.** 37.
σφραγίς **601.** 6, 7, 9, 22, 23, 25, 30; **683.** 17.
σφραγῖδες ι, ια **656.** 9, 11, 13.
Τκές (*τόπος*) **656.** 9.
τόπος **656.** 9, 11, 13.
— οἱ κάτω **572.** 43.
ᾠδεῖον **627.** 220.

secretarium **653.** 1.

VII. RELIGION

(a) Pagan

(i) *Deities*

Βερενίκη Ἀκτία **585.** 27, 40.
θεῖος **656.** 4.
θειότης **620.** 15.
θεοὶ Σεβαστοί **598.** 13.
Ἶσις **569.** 3, 8.
Ὄσιρις **569.** 3.
Σιλῆνος **630*.** 503.

Venus **612.** 9.

(ii) *Temples*

ἱερόν **572.** 33, 44, 67; **590.** [15]; **598.** 9; **627.** 215; **663.** iii. 3, 8.
— Βερενίκης Ἀκτίας ἱερόν **585.** 27, 40.
Λαβύρινθος **577.** 3.
Σαραπεῖον: τὸ ἐν Ῥακώτει Σ. **576.** 4.
— φόρος τοῦ φαρμάκου τοῦ Σ. **574.** 4.

(iii) *Priests*, etc.

ἀθλοφόρος Βερενίκης Εὐεργέτιδος **581.** ii. 3; **583.** 3, 44.
ἀρχιερεύς **572.** 35, 44.
ἀρχιπροφήτης **618.** 5; **676.** 2.
γραμματεύς **590.** 3, 14.
ἐπιστάτης τῶν ἱερῶν **572.** 33, 44.
ἱερεία Ἀρσινόης Φιλοπάτορος **581.** ii. 4; **583.** 3, 45.
ἱερεύς **714.** 2.
ἱερεύς Ἀλεξάνδρου κτλ. **581.** ii. 2; **583.** 1, 43; **587.** 4; **588.** 3.
ἰσιονόμος **569.** 1.
κανηφόρος Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου **581.** ii. 4; **583.** 3, 44.
κανηφόρος (at Ptolemais) **581.** ii. 5.
κωμαστής (?) **592.** 1, 16.
ξυστοφο... **604.** 37.
προφήτεια **598.** 9, 12 (?); **676.** 9, 10.
συννεκροτάφος **574.** 2.
συνταφιάστης* **590. [10], 13.
ταριχευτής **577.** 2.

(iv) *Signs of the Zodiac*

Αἰγοκέρως **589.** 115.
Δίδυμοι **589.** 120.
ζῳδίον **589.** 104.
Ἰχθῦς **589.** 117.
Κάρκινος **589.** 121.
Κριός **589.** 118.
Λέων **589.** 122.
Πάρθενος **589.** 123.
Σκορπίος **589.** 113.
Ταῦρος **589.** 119.
Τοξότης **589.** 114.
Ὑδρόχους **589.** 116.
Χηλαί **589.** 124.

(v) *Magic*

αβλα **699.** 7.
αισαηλ **699.** 3.
αιχα[**699.** 7.
βάρβαρος (?) **699.** 3.
βωθωηλ **699.** 4.
ελεσαβατανι **699.** 4.
ελεωνπρωλ[**699.** 1.
ἐπικαλεῖσθαι (?) **699.** 3.
λιρ.ανα **699.** 6.
μακαιπεντιν[**699.** 9.
μαρθι **699.** 6.
μηρωκρανον **699.** 8.
μητρα **699.** 2.
ναθα **699.** 7.
πληρ( ) **699.** 2.
ραβουνι **699.** 3.
σιμορικα **699.** 3.
φουκ.[**699.** 5.

(vi) *Miscellaneous*

Ἕρμαια, τά **568.** 25.
εὐσέβεια (= religious offering) **629.** 427.
θίασος: γεωργικός θ. **583.** 8, 51.
θυσία **557.** 6.
θύω **568.** 17.
ἱέρωσις **641.** 31.
κοινόν, τό **586.** 9, 15, 24.
λειτουργεῖν **590.** 16.
πενθετηρίς **562.** 10.
προφήτεια **618.** 8, 9, 11, 12, 14.
σύνοδος **590.** 3, 8, 16.

(*b*) Jewish and Christian

Θεός **618.** 7. *σὺν Θ.* **707.** 3.
πρεσβύτερος **708.** 2; **714.** 5.
προσευχή **590.** 1
σαμβαθ( ) **630*.** 475.
συναγωγή **590.** 1
Sambatha **613.** 4.

VIII. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY

ἀγορά **562.** 7, 17.
ἀγοράνομος [*τοῦ περὶ Θήβας*] **581.** ii. 5.
ἀννωνιακὴ τάξις **652.** 9.
ἀπαιτήτης **658.** 11; **711.**
ἀρχεῖον **588.** 15.
ἄρξας **701.** 18.
ἀρχέφοδος **681.** 4.
ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ **573.** 6.
ἀρχυπηρέτης **590.** 2.
ἄρχων **701.** 9, 17.

βασιλεία **589.** 111.
βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς **572.** 42; **575.** 9; **595.** 137; **596.** 6, 24; **603** introd.; **682.** 2.
βενεφικιάριος **657.** 14; **700** margin.
βιβλιοθήκη: δημοσία β. **599.** 22.
βιβλιοφύλαξ **597.** 1.
βοηθός **607.** 15. 137; **639.** 122; **641.** 16; **651.** 3; *β. δεκαπρώτων* **656.** 7.
βουλευτής **599.** 3; **656.** 7, 21; **657.** 2, **666.** 17; **683.** 5; **691,** verso; **701.** 18; **709.** 3; 14.
βουλή **620.** 6; **679,** verso, i. 3, 7.

γενναιότατος **683.** 40.
γερουσία **599.** 12.
γερούσιον **599.** 10.
γνωστήρ **658.** 11.
γραμματεύς **603** introd. *βασιλικὸς γ.* See *βασιλικός γ.*; *γ. τῶν ἱππέων* **562.** 4; *γ. συνόδου* **580.** 11.
γραφεῖον **601.** 18.
γυμνασιαρχήσας **683.** 5.

δεκαταρχία **663.** ii. 10.
δεκάταρχος **663.** ii. 9.
διαδεχόμενος τὰ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν **596.** 4.
διέπειν: διέπων καὶ τὰ στέμματα **599.** 3.
δημόσιος: δ. βιβλιοθήκη **599.** 22.
δικαστήριον (?) **572.** 3.
διοικητής **624.** 13.
δρομεύς **627.** 99.

εἰσαγγελεύς **590.** 2.
ἐξειληφὼς τὰ ἀκρόδρυα τοῦ Ἄρσιν. **575.** 4; *οἱ τὴν διάθεσιν ἐξειληφότες* **562.** 19.
ἐλαιοκάπηλος **562.** 18.
ἐξηγητεύειν: ἐξηγητεύσας **599.** 2.
ἐξηγητής **657.** 15.
ἐπανορθωτής **690.** 7.
ἔπαρχος ἀννώνης Ἀλεξανδρείας **652.** 1, 10; *ἔ. ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου* **662.** 2.
ἐπέτης **627.** 146; **629.** 348 (?); **630*.** 29, 181 (?), 329.
ἐπίκρισις: πεδιακὸν ἐπικρίσεως **599.** 22.
ἐπιμελητής **578.** 1; **672.** 1; *ἐ. οἴνου* **657.** 2.
ἐπιστάτης (civil) **572.** 40.
ἐπιστάτης **577.** 14, 21; **669.** iv. 7; **705.** 2.
ἐπιστάτης: ὁ τῆς κώμης ἐ. **579.** 18. *ἐ. τῶν φυλακίτων* **572.** 40.
ἐπιστολογραφῶν **555.** 15.
ἐπίτροπος: Κλαύδιος Διόγνητος ὁ κράτιστος ἐπίτροπος **596.** 13.

ἡγεμών **597.** 9; **604.** 12; **627.** 116; **658.** 4; **659.** 3; **706.** 1, 11. *ἡ. Ἡρκουλίας* (?) *Αἰγύπτου* **658.** 1; **659.** 1.

θ(υρωρός) (?) **590.** 2.

ἴδιος λόγος: Μόμμιος Γάλ[λος ὁ . . . πρὸς τῶι ἰδί]ωι λόγωι (?) **598.** 5.
ἰδιώτης **572.** 65, 73.
ἱππεύς **562.** 9. *μισθοφόροι ἱππεῖς* **581.** ii. 6. *γραμματεὺς τῶν ἱπ.* **562.** 4.
ἰουράτωρ **656.** 7, 21.

καθολικός **627.** 138.
καρπωνής **573.** 5.
κηνσίτωρ **651.** 2.
κοινόν **701.** 16.
κομενταρήσιος **625.** 4.
κόμες, κ. θείου κονσιστωρίου **652.** 2.
κώμαρχος **658.** 10.
κωμογραμματεύς **578.** 10; **596.** 17, 23; **682.** 3.

λαοκρίται **572.** 45.
λογιστής **654.** 14, 16; **700.** 1.

μαγιστήριος **630*.** 500.
μαχαιροφόρος: *ἐκ μαχαιροφόρων* **585.** 42.
μάχιμος **563.** 2.
μισθοφόρος: *μισθοφόροι ἱππεῖς* **581.** ii. 6.

ναύτης **627.** 118.
νομάρχης: *Τιμόθεος ὁ νομ.* **570.** 3; **601,** verso.
νομικός **627.** 201.
νομοφύλαξ **572.** 4.
νυκτοστράτηγος **700.** 2.

οἰκόνομος **572.** 41; **575.** 8.
ὁριοδείκτης **656.** 8, 22.
ὀφφικιάλιος **607.** 10, 14; **627.** 116, 129; **639.** 133, 181, 187, 193; **700** margin.

Πάμφυλοι: *τῶν καθ' αὐτοὺς Παμφύλων τακτόμισθος* **583.** 5, 47.
παρεδρεύειν **641.** 24.
παρεδρία **641.** 23.
παρέδριοι **641.** 33; **645.** 11.
πεδιακόν: *πεδιακὸν ἐπικρίσεως* **599.** 22.
πραιπόσιτος **621.** 13. *π. πάγου* **621.** 16; **653.** 22, 25; **658.** 2; **659.** 20.
πράκτωρ **595.** 1, 189; **659.** 7.
προεστηκώς **592.** 10.
προστάτης, π. συνόδου **580.** 7, 10.
πρωτοκωμήτης **708.** 2.
πρῶτος: *τῶν π. φίλων* **585.** 42; **590.** 2.

σημεῖον **580.** 3.
σκρινιάριος **652.** 12, 14.
σταθμός **562.** 23.
στέμμα: *ὁ διέπων τὰ στέμματα* **599.** 3.
στολάρχης **592.** 8.
στρατηγός **572.** [1]; **598.** 8; **641.** 9, 23; **654.** 14, 16; **657.** 1. *Ἀσκληπιάδης συγγενὴς καὶ σ.* **577.** 1. *Δημήτριος σ. Ἀρσινοίτου Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος Ἀρσινοίτου* **682.** 1. *Νόρβανος ὁ κ. Σερῆνος σ. Ἀρσινοίτου Θεμίστου καὶ Πολέμωνος μερίδων διαδεχόμενος τὰ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν Ἡρακλείδου* **596.** 2. *Σαραπίων συγγενὴς καὶ σ.* **579.** 1.
στρατιώτης **603.** 10; **627.** 112, 117; **630*.** 93.
στρατιωτικόν: *ὡς δ' ἐν τῷ στρατιωτικῷ* **585.** 1, 41.
συγγενής: *σ. καὶ στρατηγός* **577.** 1; **579.** 1.
συστρατιώτης **580.** 6.

τακτόμισθος: *τῶν καθ' αὐτοὺς Παμφύλων τ.* **583.** 5, 47.
ταξίαρχος **627.** 334.
τάξις, ἀννωνιακὴ τ. **652.** 9.
τελώνης **573.** 3.
τράπεζα: *βασιλικὴ τ.* **575.** 22.
τραπεζίτης **660.** 6; **665.** 7.

ὑπηρέτης **668.** ii. 8.
ὑποδέκτης, ὑ. νομοῦ **652.** 14.
ὑπομνηματογράφος **652.** 8, 14.

φίλος: *τῶν πρώτων φ.* **585.** 42; **590.** 2.
φροντιστής **642.** i. 7, 13; ii. 6.
φυλακία **559.** 5.
φυλακίτης **570.** 1; **576.** 2.

χωματεπίκτης **653.** 22.

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censitor **656.** 24.
chomatepicta **653.** 12.
comes **609.** 1. c. domesticorum et rei militaris Thebaici limitis **609.** 1.
curialis **609.** 6.
iuridicus: Maximianus v. p. iuridicus Aegupti **654.** 15.
legio xxii **611.** 4.
matricula **609.** 7.
missus **611.** 4.
numerus **609.** 4, 7.
officium **623.** 9.
praepositus pagi **652.** 12, 19.
praeses, p. Aegypti Herculeae **652.** 12, 19.
praesidalis **609.** 6.
procurator Augusti **608.** 12.
scholasticus **623.** 4.
servus, s. imperatoris **608.** 4.
statio **610.** 10.
tribunus **609.** 2.
vexillatio **609.** 5.
vir perfectissimus **654.** 15.

IX. PROFESSIONS, TRADES, ETC.

ἁλιεῦς **640.** 15.
ἀκροβάτης **641.** 22.
ἀρτοκόπος **640.** 21; **641.** 15; **702,** verso 1.
ἀρχιναύπηγος **640.** 19.

βρέκων **644.** 9.
βυβλιαφόρος **555.** 2.

γεωμέτρης **656.** 20.
γεωργός **663.** ii. 12; **707.** 1; **714.** 5, 11.
γναφεύς **629.** 312, 345.
γραμματοδιδάσκαλος **572.** [10].

διδάσκαλος **656.** 23.

ἐξαρτιστῆρ **640.** 11; **641.** 13, 29.
ἐπίπλους **576.** 1.
ἐργάτης **556.** 7; **642.** i. 12 *et saepe*; ii *passim*; **673.** ii. 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.
ἐργολάβος **577.** 11, 16.
ἑρμηνεύς **563.** 7.

ἡνιόχος **641.** 41.
ἠπήτης **629.** 348, 181 (?); **639.** 23.

ἰατρός **571.** 2; **629.** 3.
ἰσ(ἰσσ-)ικιάριος **640.** 10, 30.

κελλάριος **639.** 195; **692.** 14.
κυβερνήτης **576.** 16; **643.** 2.

λάτομος **567.** 5.
λινοπλυτής (-υστης) **606.** 13; **640.** 8.
λινύφος **654.** 3 (?), 10.

μάγειρος **640.** 9, 17, 23; **641.** 4, 6, 28.
μῖμος **641.** 17.
μουλίων **640.** 13, 25.
μουσικός **645.** 9.

ναύκληρος **576.** 11.
ναύτης **558.** 4, 9; **627.** 118; **643.** 3.
νοτάριος **711.**

οἰκοδόμος **642.** 5, 15; **650,** *passim*; **654.** 8, 9, 12, 13.
ὀξυγράφος **630*.** 208.

παραχύτης **627.** 150; **630*.** 1, [?]; **631** (*a*). 11, [**630***. 276 n.].
πηλοαρτιστήρ **642.** 11, 14; ii. 1, 3, 5, 10, 12, 13; **650.** 1.
πλακουντᾶς **640.** 12; **641.** 5, 27.
ποταμίτης **642.** 10.
προνοῶν **600.** 1, 23.

ῥήτωρ **661.** 16; **679,** verso i. 4.

σύνδικος **654.** 3.

ταριχευτής **577.** 2.
τέκτων **606.** 17.

X. WEIGHTS, MEASURES, COINS

(*a*) Weights and Measures

ἀγγεῖον **627.** 72, 91, 123; **630*.** 219.
ἀγοραῖος: *μέτρον ἀγοραῖον* **601.** 14.
ἀγωγή **600.** 2.
ἀρούρα **578.** 4, 5, 12; **583.** 5, 48; **596.** 16, 18, 19, 20, 21; **601.** 6 *et passim*; **617.** 15, 17; **653.** 15, 17; **655.** 5 *et passim*; **656.** 6, 11, 13, 17, 19; **680.** 11; **683.** 10 *et passim*.
ἀρτάβη **559.** 5; **578.** 6, 13; **589,** verso 3, p. 56; **601.** 8 *et passim*; **617.** 8, 10; **652.** 7, 11; **655,** verso 6; **672.** 3; **704** *passim*; **706,** verso, *passim*; **710**; **714** *passim*; **715.** 3, 5, 8, 9. *πυροῦ ἀ.* **601.** 9 *et passim*; **606.** 5; **677.** 10.

βάδιον **627.** 124.

γράμμα **616** (*a*). ii. 2 sq.

δά(κτυλος) **568.** 22.
(δωδεκάχοος) **564.** 17.

ἐμπορικός: *ἐμπορικὸν μέτρον* **601.** 14, 29.
(ἑξάχοος) **564.** 16.
ἑξαχοίνικος **601.** 14, 29.

ἡμικάβινος **629.** 247.
ἡμικάβιον **629.** 91.
ἡμίκαβος **629.** 186; **630*.** 4.
ἡμικάδιον **564** *et saepe*; **583.** 8, 51.
κάβος **629.** 265, 331; **630*.** 36, 91.

κάλαθος **556.** 10.
κεράμιον **556.** 8; **564.** 4 *et saepe*; **716** introd.; *κ. Θηβαῖον* **564.** 5.
κε(ραμίς) (?) **591.** 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11–12, 14.
κνίδιον **627.** 66, 68, 75, 77, 78, 96 sq., 251; **630*.** 533, 535; **640.** 3 *et passim*; **641.** 2, 4, 5, 21, 22.
κοτύλη **589.** 78, 80, 81, 82, 83; **627.** 91, 95; **651,** verso.
κωτ( ) **627.** 127, 128.

λίτρα **606.** 8 (?), 14; **616** (*a*). ii. 3 *et saepe*; **627.** 189, 203; **629.** [24], 44, 184, 264, 274, 344, 385; **630*.** 30, 87, 205, 265, 403; **639.** 200, 219; **695.** 5; **705.** 3 *et passim*.

μετρητής **556.** 8; **627.** 69, 91, 95; **630*.** 465. *μ. Ἀρσινόης (ἑξάχοος)* **564.** 16. — *Ἀττικὸς (δωδεκάχοος)* **564.** 17.
μέτρον **568.** 27; **656.** 6. *μ. ἑξαχοίνικον Καρανίδος ἐμπορικὸν ἀγοραῖον* **601.** 14, 29.
μίλιον **627.** 224 sq., 324; **638.** 5 *et passim*.
μόδιος **692.** 7.
ναύβιον **648** *passim*.

ξέστης **627.** 74; **629.** 354, 355, 382, 396; **630*.** 104, 256, 296, 428, 517, 528; **639.** 96; **645.** 3; **657.** 7 *et passim*.

ὀκτάχοος (?) **556.** 8.
οὐγκία **616** (*a*). ii. 3 *et saepe*.

πῆ(χυς) **568.** 22.

σάκκος **606.** 21.
σπαθίον **627.** 67, 76, 79, 97, 98, 106, 294; **629.** 36, 76.

ὑδρία **589.** 80–3.

χοῖνιξ (?) **672.** 3.
χοῦς **627.** 92 sq., 221, 222.

ψιάθιον **627.** 127, 128, 340.

]γγλοκεραμι[**606.** 3.

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iugerum **612.** 4.
stater **612.** 7.

(*b*) Coins

ἀργύριον **580.** 8. *Ἰταλικὸν ἀ.* **607.** 6; **642.** 1, 4, *et saepe*. *-ου τάλαντα* **662.** 12, 24; **713.** 1, verso 5. *ἀ. ἐπίσημον* **588.** 30; **602.** 5. *ἀ. Πτολεμαϊκόν* **585.** 4.

δηνάριον **643.** i. 15 *et saepe*. *δ. μυριάς* **616** (*a*). i. 9 *et passim*; **643.** i. 15, 17; ii. 13, 14; **660.** 3, 5; **713** *passim*.
(διωβέλιον) **573.** 3.
διώβολον **594.** 3, 5, 12; **595.** 14 *et passim*.
δίχαλκον **594.** 4.
δραχμή **555.** 6; **556.** 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 12; **559.** 2, 5; **562.** 30 *et saepe*; **566.** 5; **573.** 3, 4, 5; **575.** 1, 16, 19; **580.** [1], 2, 8; **583.** 22, 71, 72; **589.** 4 *et passim*; **595** *passim*; **606.** 18, 19, 38; **627.** 131, 133 sq., 188 sq., 202 sq., 251 sq., 349; **629.** 1 *et passim*; **630*.** 10 *et passim*; **639.** 1 *et passim*; **642.** 2, 3, 5, 14; **646** *passim*; **651** *passim*; **663.** ii. 19; **673** *passim*; **683.** 16, 43; **706,** verso *passim*. *ἀργυρίου* δ. **574.** 5; **582.** 16; **584.** 11; verso 4, 8; **585.** 3, 8, 25, 36, 44, 46, 48; **600.** 10; **602.** 2, 6; **684.** 6; **686.** 8, 9. *δ. ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου* **588.** 31. *χαλκοῦ* δ. **558.** 6; **583.** 80, 84; **587.** 12, 13, 30; **588.** 12, 37; **589.** 74; **591.** 15 *et passim*; **667.** iii. 1, 7.

κεράτιον **707.** 2, 3; **714.** 6 *et saepe*.

μνᾶ **556.** 6; **587.** 13.

νόμισμα **587.** 11. *Ἰταλικὸν ν.* **607.** 4. *χαλκοῦ ν.* **588.** 11.
νομισμάτιον **714.** 5 *et saepe*.
νοῦμμος **607.** 5.

ὀβολός **556.** 5; **594.** 1; **595.** 9, 67.
ὁλοκόττινον **643.** i. 15.

τάλαντον **555.** 6; **573.** 3; **589.** 4 *et passim*; **594.** 2; **606.** 11; **665.** 8; **666.** 7; **627.** 132 sq., 257 sq., 340, 348, 349; **629.** 7 *et saepe*; **630*.** 35 *et saepe*; **639.** 1 *et saepe*; **646** *passim*; **649** *passim*; **651.** 4; **706,** verso *passim*. *ἀργυρίου τ.* **583.** 19, 68; **594.** 21; **606.** 11; **662.** 12, 24. *χαλκοῦ τ.* **586.** 5, 10; **587.** 3, 11, 30; **588.** 11, 36; **667.** i. 1 *et saepe*.
τετρώβολον **595.** 13 *et passim*.
τριώβολον **556.** 6; **559.** 2; **594.** 9; **595.** 8.

χρύσιον **712.** 4.
χρυσός **707.** 2, 3.

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drachma **612.** 9.
mina (mna) **612.** 10.
quadrans **612.** 10.

XI. TAXES

α (ἀρτάβης) **596.** 19.
ἀκ⟨ρ⟩όδρυα **575.** 5, 11.
ἀναβολικόν **654.** 7.
ἀνδρισμός **658.** 8.
ἀννῶνα, ἀ. Ἀλεξανδρείας **652.** 1, 10.
ἀπόμοιρα **583.** 7, 9, 10, 50, 54, 81.
ἀργυρικὰ ἐλαιω( ) **594.** 17.
ἀτελεία **667.** ii. 14.

βασιλικός **656.** 17; **683.** 8.

τὸ βασιλικόν **562.** 15; **572.** 58; **582.** 16; **583.** 7, 11, 50; **585.** 36, 44.

γέρρα **594.** 6.

δημόσια **683.** 24, 44; **707.** 1; **712.** 3.
διοίκησις **596.** 20.
δίδραχμον (?) **594.** 18.

ἐγκύκλιον **667.** iii; ii. 7.
εἶδος **572.** 57.
εἰσφορά **617.** 12; **659.** 22.
ἑκατοστή **594.** 9.
ἐκλογή **578.** 5.
ἕκτη **573.** 2; **575.** 14; **594.** 14.
ἐλαικὸν [.]μυρον **594.** 8, 24 (?).
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ἐπίπεμπτον **575.** 16.

ἰδιωτικός **656.** 11, 13, 18.
Ἰουδαϊκὸν τέλεσμα **594.** 7.

κανών **616** (*a*). ii. 12; **617.** 13; **655.** 5; **704.** 3 *et passim.*
κηρυκικόν **594.** 9.

λαογραφία **594.** 2; **595.** 1, 6, 8, 123, 136, 193, 194; **667.** ii. 4.

μαγιρική (sc. ὠνή) **562.** 13.

οὐσιακός **596.** 20.

πορθμεῖον **594.** 4.
προσόδου **596.** 16, 18, 19.

ρ⁻ εν ξ⁻ (ἑκατοστή ἐγκυκλίου ἑξηκοστή?) **582.** 25.

τέλεσμα **653.** 17. -α θαλάσσια **617.** 12.
τέλη, τά **554.** 6.
τέλος θυιῶν **594.** 10.
τιμή οἴνου τοῦ ἕκτης **573.** 2.
τιμὴ πυροῦ **594.** 19.
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ὑική **594.** 3; **595.** 6, 9, 124, 132, 193, 195.

φόρος **562.** 16; **617.** 8; **707.** 3. φ. τοῦ φαρμάκου **574.** 3.

χειρωνάξιον **594.** 5.
χωματικόν **595.** 6, 10, 14 *et passim.*
...κ( ) ὁρμοφυλ( ) **594.** 23.

XII. GENERAL INDEX OF GREEK* AND LATIN WORDS

ἀβάσκαντος **604.** 25.
ἄβροχος **596.** 22; **601.** 15.
ἀγαθός **605.** 32; **624.** 17; **692.** 24; **696.** 2. -ώτατος **691.** 18.
ἀγαθότης **619.** 6.
ἀγανακτεῖν **625.** 3.
ἀγγεῖον **629.** 177; **627.** 72, 91; **692.** 9; **693.** 3. See also X (*a*).
ἄγειν **557.** 5; **570.** 4; **585.** 15; **589.** 110; **603.** 4; **627.** 121.
ἀγκαλιστός (?) **583.** 75.
ἀγνοεῖν **565.** 8 (?); **595.** 58; **659.** 20.
ἀγνωμονεῖν **706.** 10.
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ἀγοράζειν **556.** [9]; **559.** 3; **563.** 4; **607.** 7.
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ἄγρωστις **583.** 15, 61.
ἀγωγή **576.** 8, 14; **660.** 2.
ἀγωγιμός **585.** 37.
ἀδελφή **589.** 69; **605.** 24; **691.** 8.
ἀδελφός **554.** 5; **568.** 17; **570.** 8; **579.** 5; **588.** 10; **595.** 80; **601.** 13; **604.** 14, 15, 28, 31, 33, 37; **605.** 31; **606.** 9; **607.** 13; **624.** 24; **653.** 14; **661.** 1, 13; **677.** 15; **692.** 2, 14; **693.** 1, 4; **694.** 1; **695.** 8, 9, 10, 11; **696.** 1; **700** margin.
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ἄθλιος **617.** 13.
ἀθυμία **695.** 4.
αἴγινος **630*.** 442.
αἰεί **565.** 4.
*αιλη **627.** 74.
αἱρεῖν **579.** 11; **585.** 20; **587.** 22; **670.** 8. -εῖσθαι **662.** 13, 17; **683.** 14; **709.** [9].
αἵρεσις **630*.** 426 (?).
αἰτεῖν **660.** 11; **678.** 9.
αἴτησις **610.** 5; **660.** 7.
αἰώνιος **617.** 7.
ἀκα( ) **627.** 29.
ἀκίνδυνος **601.** 14; **662.** 10; **683.** 23.
ἀκίνητος (?) **701.** 6.
ἀκολουθεῖν **617.** 13.
ἀκόλουθος, -ως **583.** 85; **590.** 14; **599.** 17; **600.** 20; **622.** 15; **655,** recto 4; **656.** 4; **677.** 12, 17; **700.** 5.
ἀκούειν **563.** 2; **565.** 1; **690.** 12; **693.** 4.
ἀκριβεία: τὰ τῆς ἀκριβείας **578.** 17.
ἀκριβής, -ῶς **624.** 7, 20; **712.** 5.
ἀκροβάτης **641.** 23.
ἄκυρος **585.** 38; **588.** 28.
ἀλέκτωρ **601.** 11, 27.
ἄλετρον **559.** 3.
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ἀλλά **606.** 33; **654.** 8. οὐδεὶς ἀλλ' ἢ **569.** 7, 9.
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ἀλληλέγγυος **662.** 16.
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* Words not to be found in LSJ are marked with an asterisk.

618. 9; **624.** 15, 18, 27; **627.** 6, 24, 104, 176, 339; **629.** 2; **630*.** 222, 233, 234, 425, 462, 535; **641.** 10; **647.** 3; **673.** i. 10; **683.** 10, 11, 18, 19; **692.** 28; **695.** 5; **713,** verso 3. *-ως* **624.** 18.
ἄλλοτε **680.** 1.
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ἅλς **629.** 45, 90, 294; **691.** 5; **695.** 12; **696.** 6.
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ἀμπελουργ[**661.** 6.
ἀμπελών **575.** 4; **583.** 5, 6; **584.** 8, 14; verso 5.
ἀμφισβητεῖν **679,** verso i. 9.
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ἀμφότεροι **586.** 25; **670.** 8.
ἄν (= *ἐάν*) **563.** 5.
ἀναβαίνειν **689.** ii. 2.
ἀναβολάδιον **627.** 12.
ἀναβολικόν. See XI.
ἀνάγειν **570.** 2.
ἀναγιγνώσκειν **668.** i. 1 (?), 4.
ἀναγκάζειν **557.** 2; **568.** 31; **617.** 8 (?).
ἀνάγκη **617.** 10.
ἀναγκαῖος **604.** 35; **706.** 10.
ἀναγράφειν **578.** 11; **588.** 15; **601.** 18; **683.** 6.
ἀναγραφή **627.** 1.
ἀναδενδράς **556.** 12.
ἀναδέχεσθαι **653.** 17.
ἀνακαθαιρεῖν **561.** 10; **653.** 23.
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ἀνακτένιον* **627. 168.
ἀναλαμβάνειν **565.** 5.
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ἀνέρχεσθαι **692.** 28.
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ἀνήρ **595.** 123; **621.** 12. *κατ' ἄνδρα* **658.** 12. *τὸ κατ' ἄνδρα* **595.** 13.
ἀνήκειν **599.** 16.
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ἀντιποθεῖν **712.** 2 (?).
ἀντίτυπον **652.** 9.
ἀνυπόλογος **583.** 83; **601.** 15; **662.** 11.
ἄξιος **624.** 12.
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ἀξίωσις **617.** 11.
ἀπαγγέλλειν **555.** 15.
ἀπαιτεῖν **667.** i. 5.
ἀπαίτησις **705.** 1 (?), 12.
ἀπαιτητής. See VIII.
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ἅπας **624.** 32; **709.** [9].
ἀπάτωρ **714.** 3.
ἀπεντεῦθεν **653.** 18.
ἀπέρχεσθαι **627.** 118; **629.** 6; **643.** ii. 10; **680.** 12.
ἀπέχειν **588.** 9, 35; **589.** col. 8. 2; **709.** 7.
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ἀπηλιώτης **581.** ii. 9.
ἀπιστεῖν **693.** 5.
ἅπλι(ο)ν* **627. 161.
ἀπαλλάσσειν **621.** 21, 23 (?).
ἁπλοπότιον* **627. 88.
ἁπλοῦς **586.** 17; **587.** 19; **709.** 6; *ὡς* **588.** 23.
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ἀποβαίνειν **583.** 79.
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ἀποτίνειν **582.** 15; **583.** 18 *et saepe*; **584.** 10, verso 8; **587.** 18.
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ἀρουρηδόν **658.** 8.
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ἀσταφίς **583.** 74.
ἀστράγαλος **586.** 33.
*ἀσυλλόχιστος **585.** 10, 30.
ἀσυντέλεστος (?) **680.** [4].
ἀσφάλεια **662.** 21; **696.** 5.
ἀσφαλής **604.** 34; **692.** 19. *-ῶς* **691.** 5.
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ἀφαιρεῖν **575.** 15; **583.** 7.
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ἀψινθᾶτον **639.** 73.
ἀψίνθιον **629.** 60, 117, 173, 257, 269; **630*.** 58, 77, 139, 409, 439, 534; **639.** 5, 186.

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βέβαιος **565.** 6; **662.** 20.
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*βορίδιον **629.** 88.
βορρᾶς **575.** 13; **581.** i. 9; ii. 9.
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γάρος **627.** 76; **629.** 88; **630*.** 71, 81, 108, 122, 136, 154, 180, 213, 428, 495; **639.** 157.
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γέννα **706.** 4.
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δαπάνη **578.** 7; **643.** ii. 8.
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δέησις **617.** 4; **618.** 4.
δεῖν **565.** 2; **605.** 22, 28; **654.** 3, 8, 13; **702.** 12. *τὸ δέον* **565.** 2; **578.** 19.
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διασαφεῖν **572.** 61; **573.** 11; **583.** 65.
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διασημότατος **652.** 1, 10; **658.** 1; **659.** 1; **675.** 5; **705.** 15.
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διαστολεύς **707.** 3.
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διαφέρειν **624.** 15.
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διευτυχεῖν **617.** 14; **659.** 16.
δίκαιος **583.** 14; **590.** [7]; **621.** 17; **658.** 7. *τὸ δίκαιον* **570.** 5; **577.** 17; **578.** 20; **668.** ii. 2; **701.** 18.
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διό **577.** 13; **578.** 14; **596.** 23; **603.** 8.
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δόκος **673.** i. 6.
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δοῦλος **640.** 26; **692.** 22.
δοχή **568.** 10.
*δράκιον **627.** 14.
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δύνασθαι **563.** 8; **568.** 29; **603.** 12; **653.** 24, 27; **659.** 14; **712.** 2.
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ἔδαφος **583.** 17, 59, 60, 65; **653.** 4; and see VI.
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ἔθος **653.** 9; **676.** 12.
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εἰδέναι **557.** 6; **562.** 27; **565.** 4; **617.** 15; **624.** 7, 20; **659.** 17; **661.** 19; **662.** 27; **676.** [7]; **683.** 47; **692.** 19, 28; **695.** 3; **695** margin; **696.** 9.
εἶδος **607.** 7; and see XI.
εικ( ) **704.** 3 *et passim*.
εἰκοστός **585.** 9.
εἰκών **558.** 7.
εἷς **575.** 2, 20, 24; **584,** verso 3; **587.** 21; **606.** 21; **617.** 8, 9; **677.** 6; **683.** 9.
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ἐκδιδάσκειν **654.** 12.
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ἐκκεῖσθαι **705.** 15.
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*ἐκκένωσις **576.** 17.
ἐκκόπτειν **592.** 12.
ἐκλαμβάνειν **562.** 12; and see VIII.
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ἐκπείθειν **582.** 9.
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ἐκπίπτειν **600.** 8.
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ἐκριζοῦν **583.** 15.
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ἐκτελεῖν **603.** 13.
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ἐκτιθέναι **577.** 12; **585.** 44; **662.** 21; **675.** 6.
ἔκτισις **586.** 20; **600.** 13; **601.** 31, 33; **662.** 8, 18. ἔγγυος εἰς ἔ. **587.** 20.
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ἑκών **701.** 6.
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ἐλαία **629.** 13, 30, 49, 54, 70, 95, 109, 126, 153, 168, 200, 221, 243, 275, 328, 341, 368, 393, 405; **630*.** 55, 131, 484; **639.** 36, 63, 69, 91, 113, 205, 221.
ἐλαικός **594.** 8.
ἔλαιον **556.** 8 and 9; **562.** 21; **589.** 16, 76, 77; **627.** 69, 90, 123, 164, 186, 266, 267, 254; **629.** 35, 67, 100, 116, 128, 175, 232, 278, 280, 332, 354, 377, 384; **630*.** 20, 39, 42, 146, 155, 161, 212, 247, 256, 322, 343, 357, 389, 464, 479, 506, 528; **639.** 67, 96, 158, 208, 209, 235.
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ἐλαττοῦν **677.** 11.
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ἐλεύθερος **669.** i. 5; **701.** 8, 10.
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*ἐμβροχεῖν (?) **601.** 16.
ἐμός **621.** 17; **661.** 8; **691.** 12; **706.** 12.
ἐμπεριλαμβάνειν **598.** 6.
ἐμπόδων **624.** 26.
ἐμποίησις **577.** 7.
ἐμπορικός. See X.
ἔμπροσθεν **579.** 8.
ἐμφανίζειν **572.** 72.
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ἕνεκα, ἕνεκεν **582.** 9; **607.** 9; **659.** 9; **695.** 4; **700.** 3.
ἐνακισχίλιοι **589.** 100.
ἔνατος **715.** 2.
ἑνδεκατός **652.** 5.
ἐνεῖναι **677.** 8.
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ἐνιστάναι **573.** 4; **577.** 3; **582.** 8; **597.** 12; **599.** 8; **612.** 12.
ἐνλείπειν **562.** 22.
ἐννοεῖν **621.** 11.
ἐνοίκιον **714.** 16.
ἐνορία **653.** 4.
ἐνοχλεῖν **555.** 8; **565.** 3.
ἔνσημος **606.** 35.
ἐντάσσειν **599.** 9.
ἐνταῦθα **555.** 13; **604.** 22; **691.** 12; **695.** 13.
ἐντέλλειν **592.** 4; **593.** 3; **690.** 1, 4; **696.** 3.
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ἐντρέπεσθαι **690.** 13.
ἐντυγχάνειν **563.** 5; **568.** 4; **653.** 2; **678.** 10 (twice).
ἐντύχεια **653.** 25.
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*ἐξατίλιον (-ος?) **630*.** 332, 345, 363, 367, 379, 434, 452, 476, 480.
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ἐξιδιάζεσθαι **663.** iii. 9.
ἐξιστάναι, -άσθαι **653.** 18.
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ἔξοδος **665.** 8.
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ἐπειδή **561.** 2; **604.** 35.
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ἐπέρχεσθαι **585.** 47; **588.** 18, 27, 30, 38; **659.** 8.
ἐπερωτᾶν **657.** 10; **662.** 21; **683.** 36, 45; **703.** 8.
ἐπέτης **627.** 146; **630*.** 29, 329.
ἐπί, ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό **683.** 12. ἐπὶ λόγου **606.** 19. ἐπὶ μέρει τρίτωι **583.** 6. ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος **561.** 4. ἐφ' ᾧ **583.** 49. ἐφ' ὥιτε **590.** 7.
ἐπιβάλλειν **579.** 12; **583.** 9, 53, 80; **596.** 14; **627.** 294; **656.** 9; **684.** 4.
ἐπιβροχεῖν **601.** 16.
ἐπιγονή **583.** 4, 5, 47; **586.** 1; **587.** 9; **588.** 9; **601.** 5, 19, 32; **602.** 4.
ἐπιδιδόναι **585.** 14; **596.** 23; **599.** 13, 21, 23; **604.** 18; **610.** 4; **659.** 17; **706.** 15.
ἐπιγένημα **670.** 10.
ἐπιδέχεσθαι **667.** ii. 15.
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ἐπισκοπεῖσθαι **663.** iii. 10; **680.** 5.
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ἐπιστέλλειν **573.** 8; **604.** 24; **660.** 5; **675.** 4.
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ἐπιχειρεῖν **572.** 70.
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ἔρχεσθαι **554.** 9; **590.** [6]; **627.** 138, 146; **696.** 8; **712.** 3.
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ἔτι **557.** 4; **559.** 2; **569.** 7; **624.** [5]; **690.** 13; **712.** 4. *ἔ. καὶ νῦν* **603.** 8. *ἔ. τοίνυν* **653.** 4.
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εὐσέβεια **627.** 427; **652.** 11.
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εὐχερής **624.** 19.
εὔχεσθαι **604.** 32; **605.** 41; **607.** 13; **620.** 14; **625.** 20; **690.** 14; **692.** 27; **695.** 9.
ἔφθιος **639.** 115.
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ἔχειν **558.** 3; **561.** 5; **565.** 7; **566.** 3; **569.** 6; **572.** 27; **573.** 2; **575.** 11, 18; **583.** 78; **587.** 29; **591.** 15; **593.** 10; **596.** 25; **602.** 5; **603.** 8; **604.** 24; **606.** 19, 23, 34; **607.** 7; **617.** 7, 10; **620.** 10, 11; **651,** verso 3; **653.** 9, 18, 24; **659.** 10; **662.** 10, 23; **664.** 1; **670.** 14; **674.** 1, 4, 6; **680.** 7; **683.** 43; **690.** 5; **691.** 15, 25, 29; **692.** 25; **707.** 1; **712.** 4.
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ἡδέως **565.** 8; **604.** 24; **653.** 16.
ἤδη **599.** 8; **654.** 17.
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ἥλιος **589.** 104, 111.
ἡμέρα **557.** 4; **589.** 96, 99; **597.** 12; **603.** 7; **627.** 308; **629.** 8, 20 *et passim*; **630*.** 10 *et passim*; **639.** 26 *et saepe*; **640.** 16; **643.** ii. 15, 16.
ἡμέτερος **617.** 7; **653.** 18; **696.** 4.
*ἡμικάβιον. See X (*a*).
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ἡμιόλιος **583.** 19, 67, 73, 81.
ἥμισυς **607.** 5; **617.** 8; **652.** 7; **674.** 2, 4; **683.** 10, 11, 12, 18, 20; **701.** 1.
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ἡπήτης **629.** 348; **630*.** 181 (?); **639.** 23.
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θαλαμηγός **558.** 8.
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θαρρεῖν **696.** 2.
θᾶσσον **565.** 1.
θαυμάζειν **573.** 7; **693.** 2.
θαυμασιώτατος **652.** 10.
θέατρον **627.** 219.
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θειότης **620.** 15.
θέλειν **570.** 6; and see s.v. *ἐθέλειν*.
θεός **618.** 7; see also VII.
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ἰέναι **706.** 5.
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ἱερός **617.** 11; **624.** 21; **662.** 3. *-όν*. See VII.
ἱέρωσις **641.** 31.
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ἱκεσία **617.** 4; **618.** 4.
ἱκετεύειν **706.** 11.
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ἱστάναι **589.** 104; **624.** 27.
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καθά **583.** 65; **586.** 13; **587.** 17; **588.** 8.
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καθάπερ **662.** 19. κ. ἐκ δίκης **582.** 20; **585.** 38; **586.** 27.
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καθήκειν **578.** 16; **583.** 7, 9, 12 *et saepe*. τὸ καθῆκον **572.** 11, 37; **578.** 11.
καθιστάναι **577.** 15, 22; **589.** 11.
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καθώς **604.** 21.
καινός **627.** 261; **647.** 4.
καιρός **583.** 18, 66, 67, 82; **590.** 8(?); ἐν κ. **624.** 3.
κακοπαθία **578.** 7.
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*καροίδιον **627.** 89; **629.** 19, 32, 38, 59, 77, 185, 226; **630*.** 140, 258, 502; **639.** 20, 236.
καρπίζεσθαι **680.** 19.
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καταβάλλειν **554.** 6; **620.** 8.
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κατάγειν **681.** 3.
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καταλείπειν **580.** 5; **583.** 8, 51; **624.** 10.
*καταλογισμός **627.** 90.
καταμανθάνειν **653.** 22.
καταμένειν **662.** 5.
καταμήνιος **583.** 77; **686.** 8.
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κατανέμειν **703.** 6.
καταξιοῦν **624.** 6; **712.** 1.
καταπλεῖν **563.** 2.
καταποστέλλειν **568.** 12.
κατασκευάζειν **568.** 19; **653.** 5.
κατασπασμός **600.** 16.
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καταφέρειν **556.** 11; **583.** 53.
καταφρονεῖν **659.** 7.
καταφυγή **617.** 11.
κατεδι( ) **591.** 6.
κατεπείγειν **625.** 11.
κατεργάζεσθαι **578.** 7; **584.** 4, 8.
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κατηγορεῖν **654.** 16.
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κοινός **586.** 4; **630*.** 538; **701.** 3; **706.** 4. τὰ κοινά **582.** 3.
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κύριος **582.** 18; **584.** 11; **586.** 27; **588.** 32; **604.** 12; **624.** 1, 3, 31, verso; **625.** 2, 21; **639.** 54; **652.** 10, 14; **657.** 3; **658.** 4; **660.** 7; **661.** 1; **662.** 20; **683.** 35; **691.** 1; **694,** verso; **695.** 10, 11; **696.** 1; **700.** 10; see also II.
κύριος (subst.) **586.** 22.
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κωλύειν **598.** 2; **659.** 13.
κωμαστής (?) **592.** 1, 16.
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λάκκος **642.** 10; **651.** 6.
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λαμπρότατος **618.** 5; **652.** 2, 6; **660.** 9; **662.** 2, 6; **703.** 9; **706.** 2; **712.** 4.
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πρόσταγμα **577.** 13, 18; **656.** 4; **658.** 4; **659.** 3.
προστάσσειν **597.** 10; **607.** 3; **659.** 3.
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συγγραφοφύλαξ **582.** 23; **587.** 3, 25.
συγκαθιστάναι **665.** 3.
συγκύρειν **683.** 45.
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συγχωρεῖν **582.** 21; **585.** 7; **653.** 16; **668.** i. 4.
σῦκον **629.** 131; **630*.** 115, 160, 255, 340, 419, 519.
συλλοχίζειν **590.** 5.
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σύμβιος **604.** 27; **706.** 8.
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συμβουλεύειν **603.** 13; **690.** 11; **696.** 4.
συμμετρεῖν **656.** 20.
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συμπείθεσθαι **600.** 21.
συμπίπτειν **573.** 7.
συμπλεῖν **691.** 13.
συμπλήρωσις **627.** 135.
συμφέρειν **583.** 59; **605.** 25; **606.** 31.
συμφορά **659.** 12.
συμφωνεῖν **652.** 12, 13, 14, 15; **707.** 4; **684.** 9 (?).
συνάγειν **573.** 11; **665.** 7.
συναγορεύεσθαι **577.** 16.
συναγωγή **590.** 1.
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συναντᾶν (?) **557.** 1.
συνάντησις **557.** 8.
συναποστέλλειν **558.** 6.
συνδεῖν **604.** 28.
σύνδικος **654.** 3.
συνδιοικεῖν **575.** 7.
συνεγγυᾶσθαι (?) **601.** 33.
συνεδρεύειν **572.** 39.
συνεκτίνειν **600.** 20.
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συνεπιδεικνύειν **656.** 22.
συνεπιστέλλειν **675.** [3].
συνεπιτελεῖν **617.** 14.
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συνηγορεῖν **653.** 7, 26.
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συνιστορέω **572.** 60.
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*συννεκροτάφος **574.** 2.
σύνοδος **580.** 6; and see VII.
συνορᾶν **654.** 9.
συντακτικός **583.** 29.
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συστρατιώτης **580.** 6.
*συστρατιωτικός **585.** 11.
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σφόγγος **627.** 184; **629.** 2.
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*σχοινάριον **627.** 170.
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*ταβέρνιον **627.** 293; **630*.** 293, 375, 396.
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τάσσειν **572.** 66; **577.** 5; **583.** 23, 73, 80, 81; **589.** 97. **-εσθαι 562.** 14.
ταφικόν **580.** 1, 5.
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ταχύς, τὴν ταχίστην **565.** [5].
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τελεῖν **578.** 13; **591.** [2]; **617.** 8; **624.** 6.
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τηλικοῦτος **568.** 30.
τηρεῖν **688.** 3; **701.** 18; **702,** verso 5.
τιθέναι **579.** 9; **667.** ii. 14; **670.** 4.
τιμή **583.** 28, 79; **589.** 15; **594.** 19; **607.** 8; **624.** 6, 34; **627.** 135, 136, 144 sq., 188 sq., 277, 296, 313; **629.** 2, 10 *et passim*; **630*.** 4 *et passim*; **639** *et passim*; **643.** i. 15; ii. 4 sq.; **651.** 2; **666.** 4, 7; **713,** verso 4, 5; **714.** 1; and see XI.
τίμημα **572.** [68].
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τοίνυν **572.** 50; **653.** 16; **659.** 5, 6; **706.** 6. ἔτι τ. **653.** 4.

τοιοῦτος **572.** 60; **603.** 7; **624.** 6, 28; **692.** 15.
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τόμος **610.** 7; **659.** 23.
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τοσοῦτος **665.** 8.
τότε **573.** 9; **678.** 7.
*τούρτιον **629.** 26, 75, 98, 112, 224, 321, 392; **630*.** 148; **639.** 177.
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τραπεζίτης **660.** 6; and see VIII.
τριακάς **600.** 12.
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τρίβειν (?) **701.** 5.
τριετία **706.** 7.
τρικλίνιον **647.** 1.
τρίμηνος **704.** 12.
τρισχίλιοι **690.** 2.
τρίτος **583.** 6, 24, 52, 74; **588.** 16; **617.** 8.
*τριχερι (?) **606.** 21.
*τρίχι(ο)ν **627.** 171.
τρόπος **572.** 59; **585.** 23; **665.** 4; **709.** [9].
τροφή **621.** 11.
τρυγίας **564.** 18.
τρύξ **564.** 21, 23.
τυγχάνειν **572.** 5; **577.** 17; **578.** 20; **617.** [10]; **621.** 15; **654.** 4, 6, 10; **668.** ii. 7; **669.** ii. 6; **691.** 7; **701.** 15.
τύλη **627.** 28; **647.** 2.
*τυλοτάπης **627.** 36.
τύπος **653.** 9.
τύριον **627.** 78; **629.** 12, 28, 68, 96, 111, 132, 154, 170, 199, 218, 223, 241, 254, 299, 324; **630*.** 116, 448, 473, 478, 497, 541; **639.** 36, 62, 93, 218.
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ὑβριστι[**701.** 11.
ὑγιαίνειν **592.** 4; **624.** 29.
ὕδωρ **559.** 3; **561.** 3; **630*.** 331; **653.** 8, 16, 17, 23, 26.
ὑικός **630*.** 411. **-ή.** See XI.
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ὑλικός **627.** 347.
ὑμέτερος **617.** 5; **621.** 14; **691.** 20.
ὑπαντᾶν **659.** 4, 14.
ὑπάρχειν **564.** 19, 22; **570.** 5; **579.** 4; **581.** i. 4; ii. 7; **583.** 4, 47; **600.** 5; **601.** 5; **618.** 9; **662.** 18; **701.** 18. *τὰ ὑπάρχοντα* **577.** 7; **582.** 20; **586.** 26; **587.** 22; **597.** 11.
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ὑπέρ, ὑπὲρ τοῦ+infin. **706.** 12.
ὑπεραιτεῖν **659.** 4.
ὑπέρθεσις **600.** 13; **662.** 14.
ὑπέρθετος **585.** 29.
ὑπερκαθῆσθαι **653.** 14.
ὑπερπίπτειν **586.** 18.
ὑπηρεσία **640.** 5, 16; **641.** 7.
ὑπηρέτης **666.** ii. 8; and see VIII.
ὑπογράφειν **566.** 1; **572.** [68].
ὑπογραφή **598.** 15; **659.** 13.
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ὑποδέχεσθαι **661.** 11.
ὑποδοχεῖον **583.** 62.
ὑποζεῖν **564.** 25.
ὑποζύγιον **556.** 11.
ὑποκεῖσθαι **592.** 6.
ὑπολείπειν **573.** 8; **653.** 3; **663.** iii. 7.
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ὑπόμνησις **606.** 6.
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ὑποπόδιον **627.** 73.
ὑποπτεύεσθαι **579.** 14.
ὑποτάσσειν **572.** 52, 64; **652.** 9; **656.** 8; **658.** 13.
ὑποτιθέναι **584.** 14; **606.** 38.
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φαμηλία* **641. 11.
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φανερός **656.** 5; **701.** 19.
φασήλιον **576.** 8.
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φάσκειν **588.** 43; **602.** 11; **659.** 17.
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φέρειν **606.** 40; **640.** 2; **653.** 4, 7. *-εσθαι* **690.** 8.
φθέγγεσθαι **680.** 8.
φθορά **601.** 15.
φιλανθρωπία **578.** 15.
φιλονικεῖν **692.** 17.
φιλοπευστεῖν **624.** 10.
φίλος **604.** 34, 36; **624.** 23.
φόβος **624.** 27.
φοῖνιξ **629.** 329.
φόρετρον **573.** 9.
φόρος **574.** 3; **583.** 80; **600.** 10, 21; **617.** 8; **683.** 14; **708.** 3.
φράσσειν **583.** 16.
φρονεῖν **624.** 18, 19.
φροντίζειν **624.** 16; **625.** 4; **700.** 7.
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φυγή **653.** 9.
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φυλακίτης. See VIII.
φυλάσσειν **598.** 13, 15; **624.** 28; **654.** 13; **676.** 11.
φύσις **624.** 16.
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χάρτης **629.** 68, 119, 157, 268; **630*.** 93, 209.
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χειρογραφεῖν **585.** 23; **704.** 1 *et passim*.
χειρογραφία **572.** 54.
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χορηγεῖν **583.** 9, 52; **604.** 10.
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χρέος **582.** 15.
χρεών **621.** 9.
χρῆμα **586.** 4; **589.** 85; **665.** 5; **709.** 6.
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χρῆν **659.** 21.
χρησιμεύειν **695.** 11.
χρήσιμος **654.** 6.
χρῆσθαι **607.** 11; **709.** 9.
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χρόνος **573.** 7; **579.** 8; **583.** 13, 17, 58, 64; **585.** 33; **586.** 18; **601.** 17; **607.** 12; **621.** 11; **624.** 32; **625.** 19; **676.** 8; **695.** 10; **701.** 14; **706.** 13; **709.** [9].
χρύσιον **700.** 3; **712.** 4.
χρυσός **707.** 2.
χρυσοφυδρ( )* **630*. 447, 487.
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χωρίον **583.** 16, 17, 27, 63, 65, 78; **656.** 8.
χωρίς **582.** 17; **660.** 2; **683.** 14; **700.** 4.

ψεύδεσθαι **703.** 8.
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ὧδε **568.** 27.
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ᾠλένη **673.** i. 5.
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ὡσαύτως **562.** 17.
ὥσπερ **568.** 7.
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annona **609.** 7; **615.** 4 (?).
annus **606.** 2, 6; **609.** 9.
approbare (?) **702.** 3.
aqua **653.** 13. 20.
autem **614.** 6.

bene **609.** 11, 13; **615.** 5.
benignitas **623.** 3.
bonus **623.** 3.

cadium **612.** 9.
carus **608.** 5.
causa **702.** 1.
causā **609.** 4; **612.** 2.
censitor. See VIII.
census **609.** 7.
ceterus **609.** 8.
chomatepicta. See VIII.
civitas **609.** 5; **654.** 1, 2; see also VII.
clarus, -issimus **609.** 8.
cognoscere **653.** 12.
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complere **609.** 12.
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corpus **609.** 4, 6.
cottatia **612.** 6.
creare **614.** 6.
credere **609.** 5; **702.** 7.
cultor **623.** 4.
cum **611.** 5; **623.** [3].
cum (prep.) **609.** 8.
curator **702.** 4.
curialis **609.** 6.

dare **608.** 15; **612.** 3.
de **612.** [2].
debere **615.** 4.
degere **609.** 2.
devotus, -issimus **609.** 1, 2.
dicere **612.** 3, 12; **653.** 12, 14, 19; **702.** 8.
dies **606.** 3, 7; **609.** 7; **615.** 4; **653.** 1; **654.** 2, 15.
dignitas **608.** 9.
dignus, -issimus **608.** 7.
dimidius **612.** 5.
dinoscere **609.** 10.
dissimulare **608.** 10.
domesticus **608.** 5; **609.** 1.
dominus **608.** 3, 6; **623.** 1, 6, 8, 9; see also II and III.
dos **612.** 3.
drachma. See X (*b*).
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duo **612.** 4, 6.

e, ex **609.** 4, 5, 6, 7; **611.** 4; **612.** 1; **614.** 6; **615.** 4; **623.** 7 [8].
edictio **609.** 5.
ego **608.** 4, 11; **614.** 2; **623.** 4.
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enim **608.** 7.
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et **611.** 12; **614.** 6; **702.** 4, 6.
etiam **623.** [4].
exemplum **610.** 6.

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favor **608.** 8.
ferre **612.** [2].
filius **608.** 13 (?); **609.** 4.
finis **615.** 2.
frater **614.** 3; **623.** 9.

genus **609.** 6.
granus **614.** 5.
gratia **614.** 4.
gratus, -issimus **608.** 11.

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hic **614.** 6; **653.** 19.
homo **608.** 4.
honeste **623.** 5.
honorificentia **623.** [5].

iam, iam iamque **653.** 13.
idem **609.** 7; **612.** 11; **653.** 13, 21.
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illustris **609.** 1.
imbecillus **609.** 6.
imperator **608.** 3.
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indulgentia **614.** 7.
inferre **612.** 12.
inserere **609.** 7.
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irrigare **653.** 21.
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ita **609.** 9; **615.** 3; **702.** 7.
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iter **623.** [10].
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Iulius, lex I. **612.** 1.
iunior **609.** 4.
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limes **609.** 1.
locus **653.** 12, 13.

mandare **613.** 2.
manus **610.** 7.
maritare **612.** [2].
matricula **609.** 7.
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maxime **623.** 4.
mensis **611.** 7.
meus **609.** 5; **623.** 8, 9.
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ministrare **609.** 8.
missus **611.** 4.
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navare **609.** 9.
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nobilis, -issimus **653.** 1.
nolle **615.** 3 (?).
nomen **609.** 6.
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nuntiare **614.** 2.

octavus-decimus **609.** 9.
officium **623.** 9.
omnis **612.** 3; **623.** 3.
opera **609.** 9.
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oriri **609.** 4, 6; **623.** 7.

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paraferna **612.** 8.
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per **614.** 4.
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praestare **608.** 10.
princ[**702.** 6.
pro **609.** 5.
processus **608.** 7.
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propter **613.** 3.
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prudentia **609.** 5.
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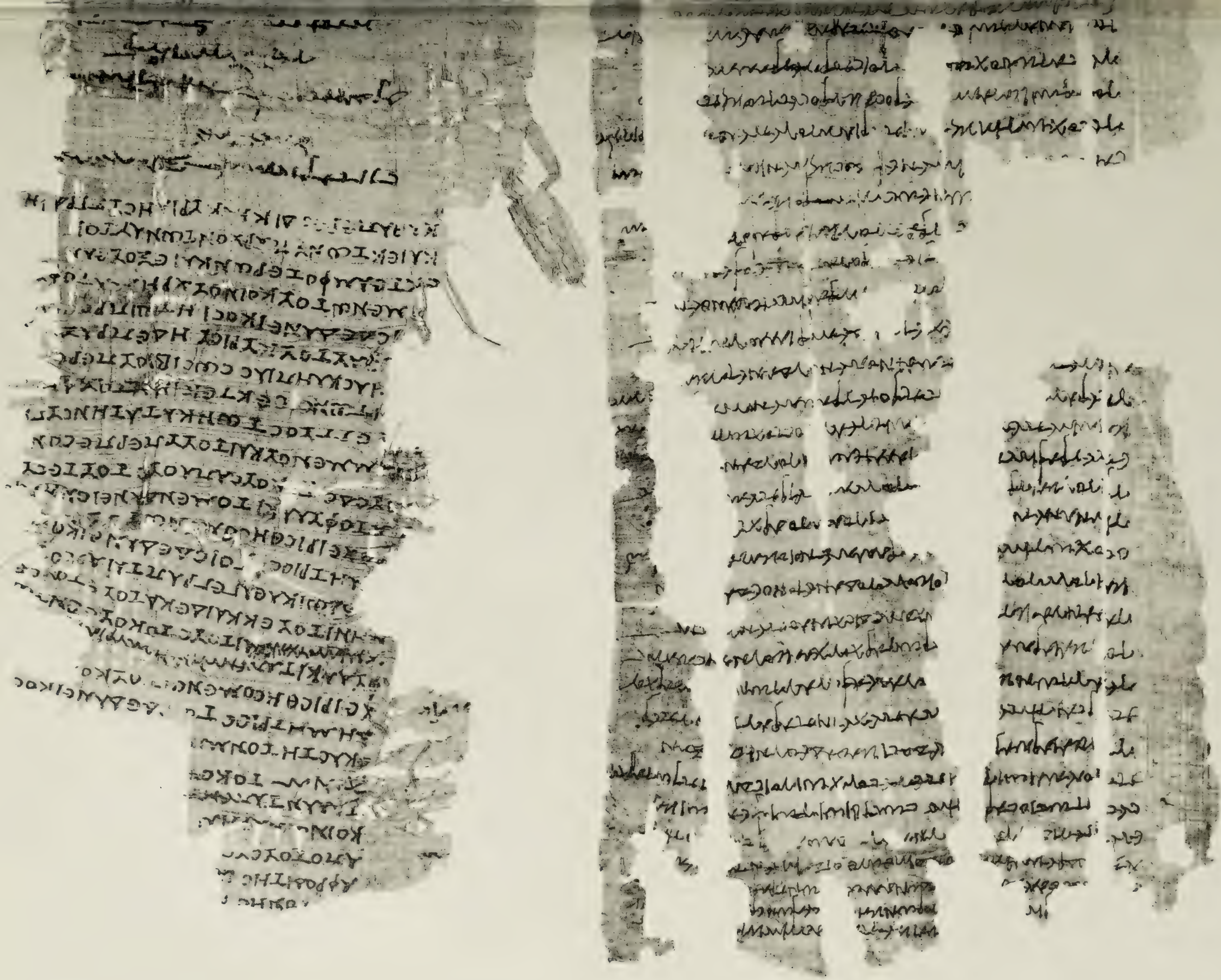

PLATE I

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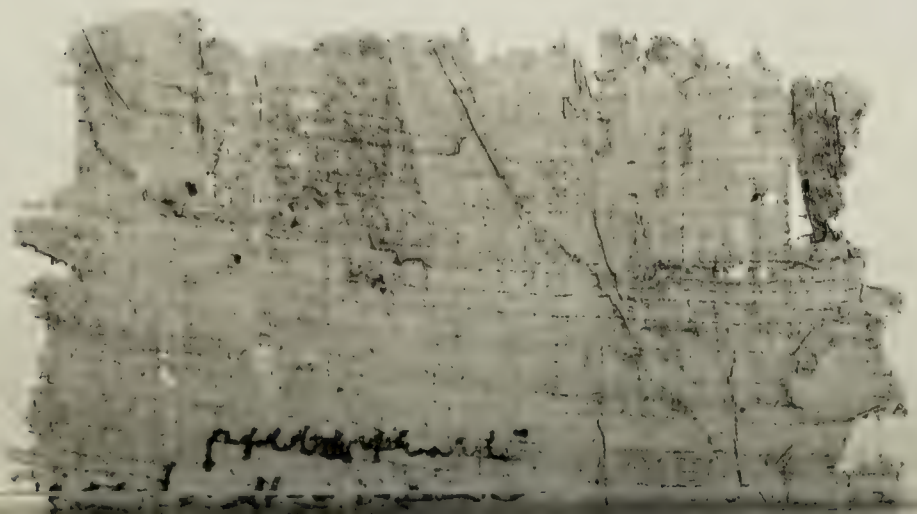

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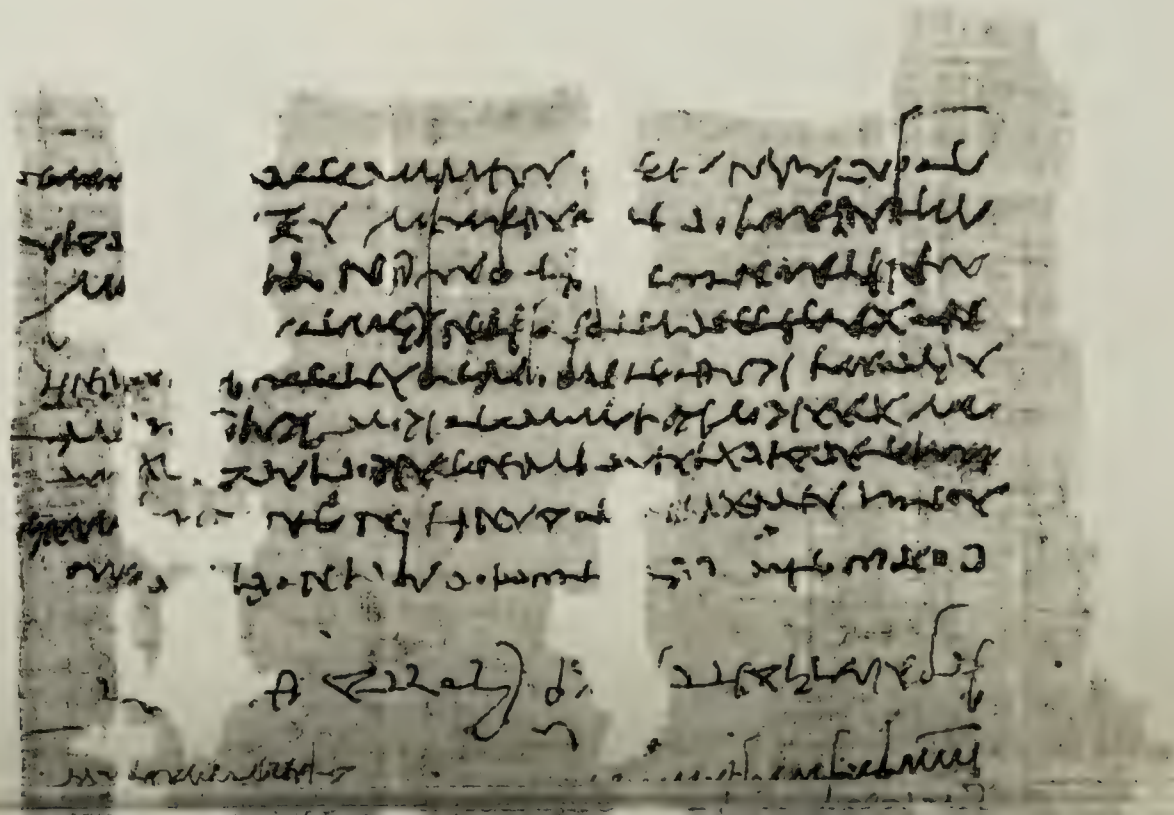

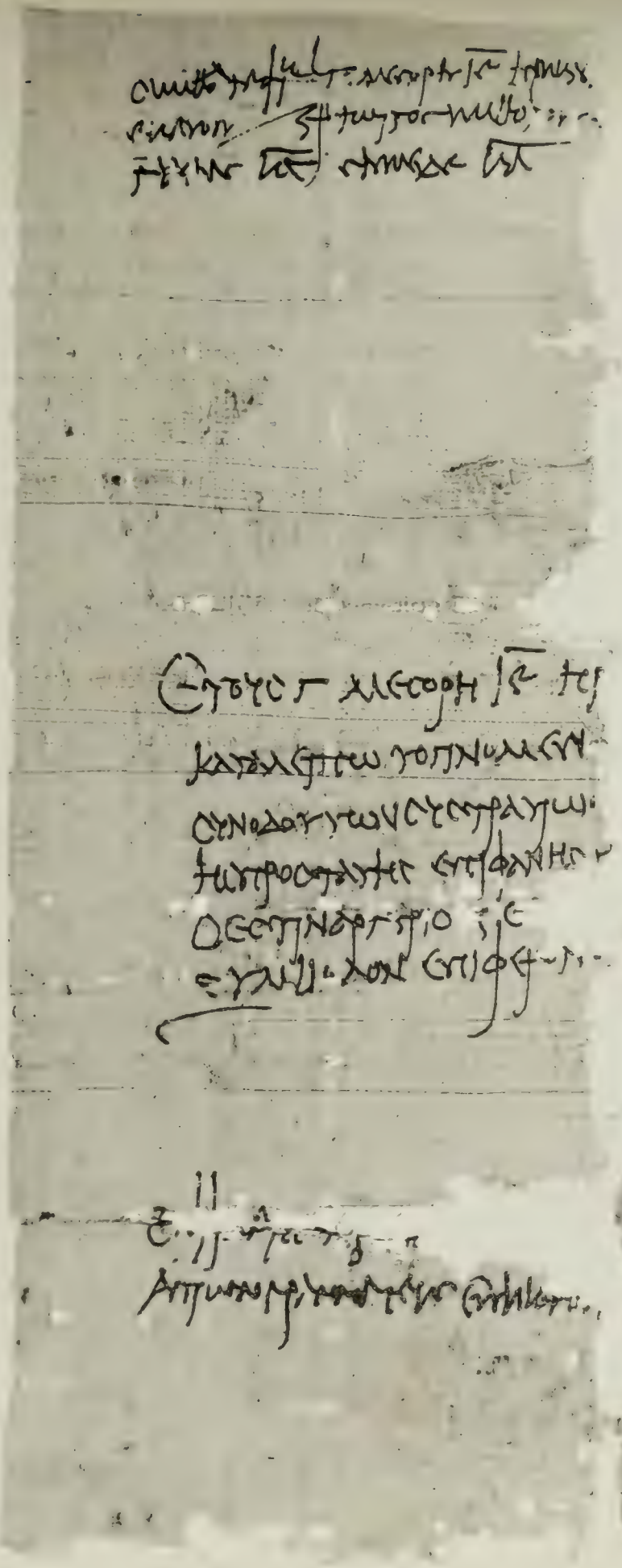

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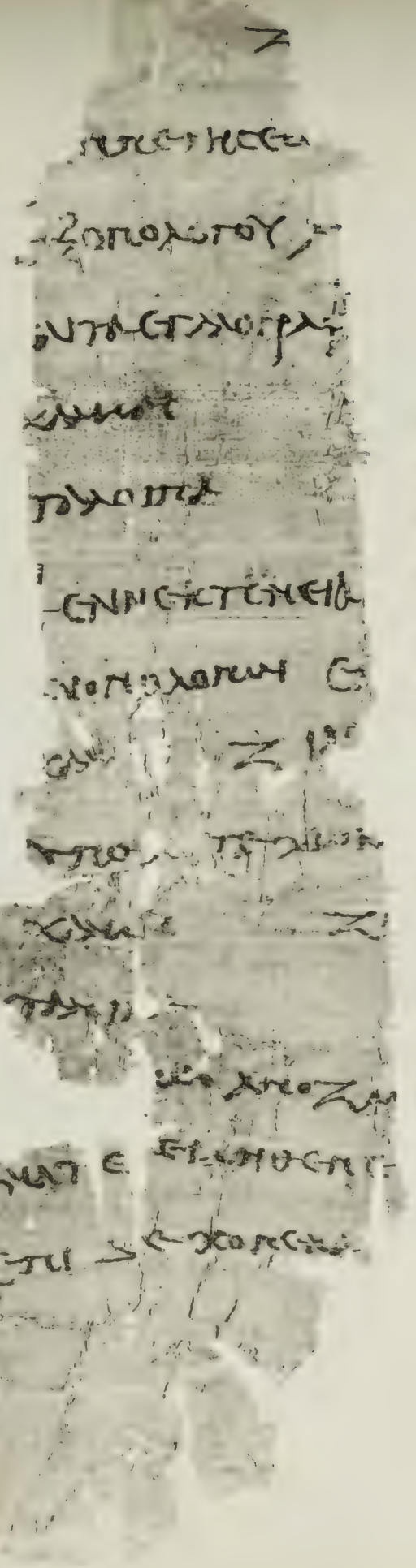

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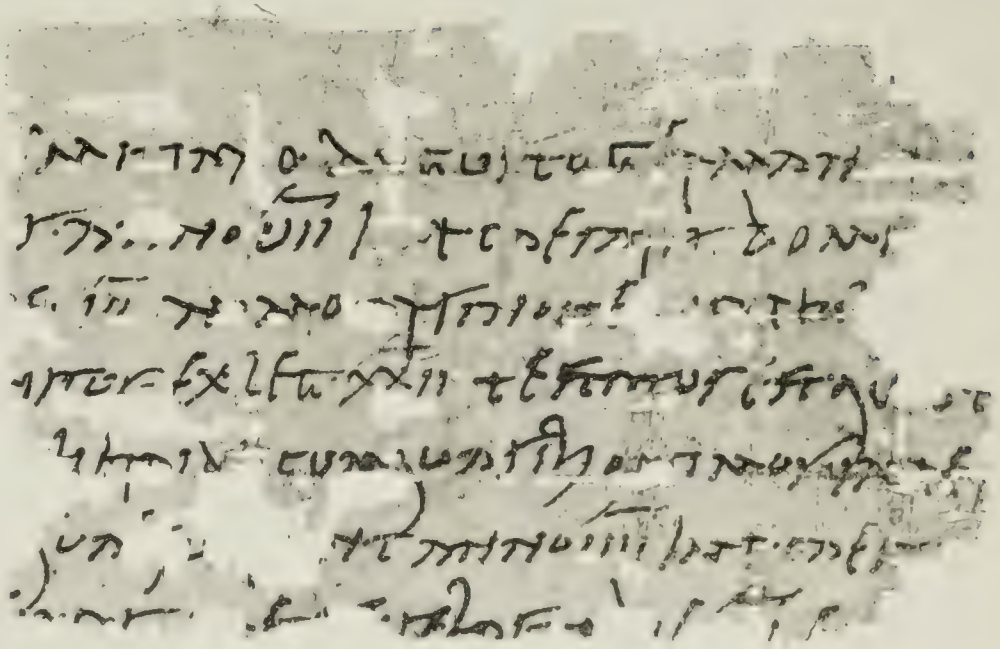

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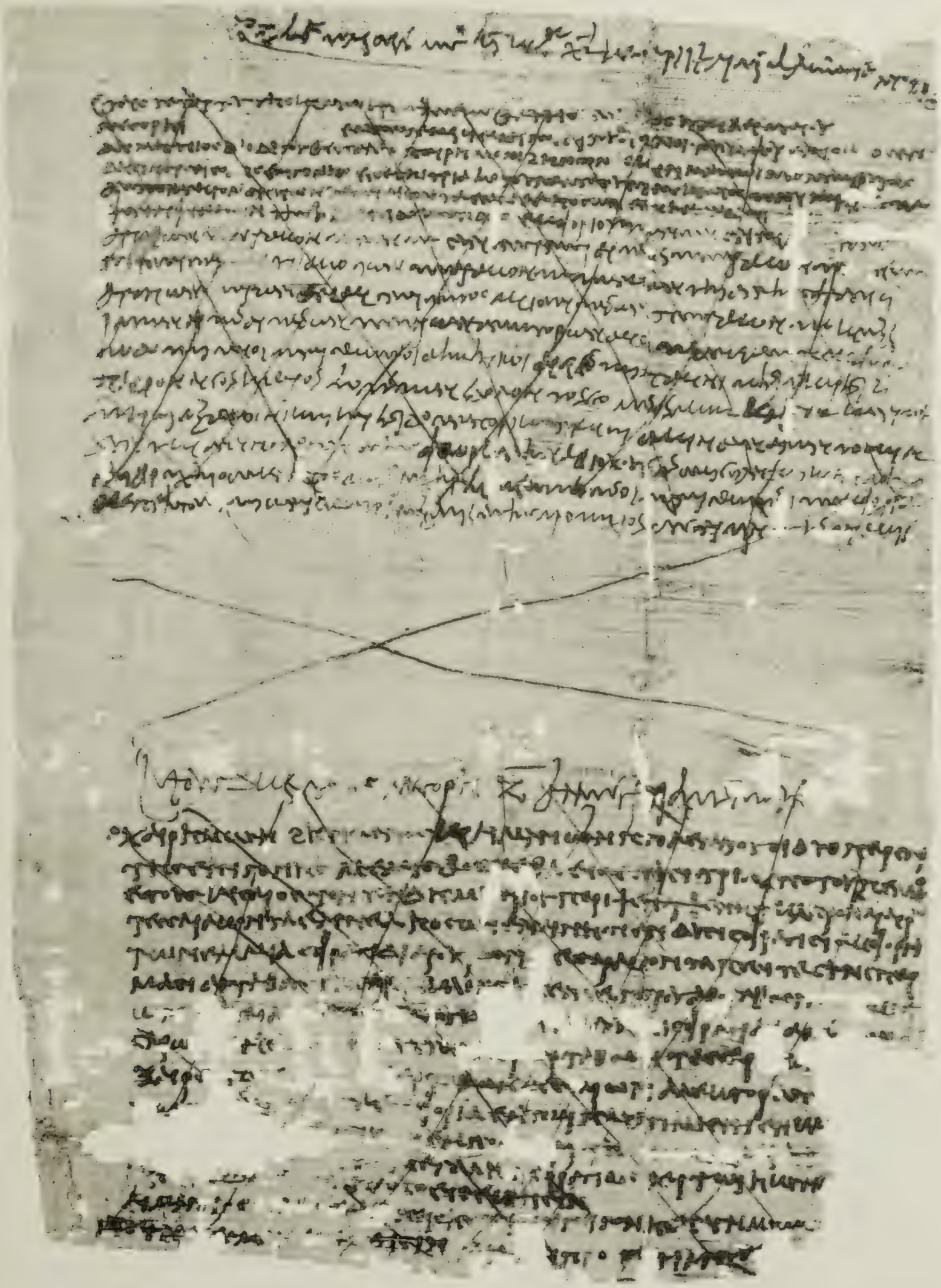

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601 *verso*

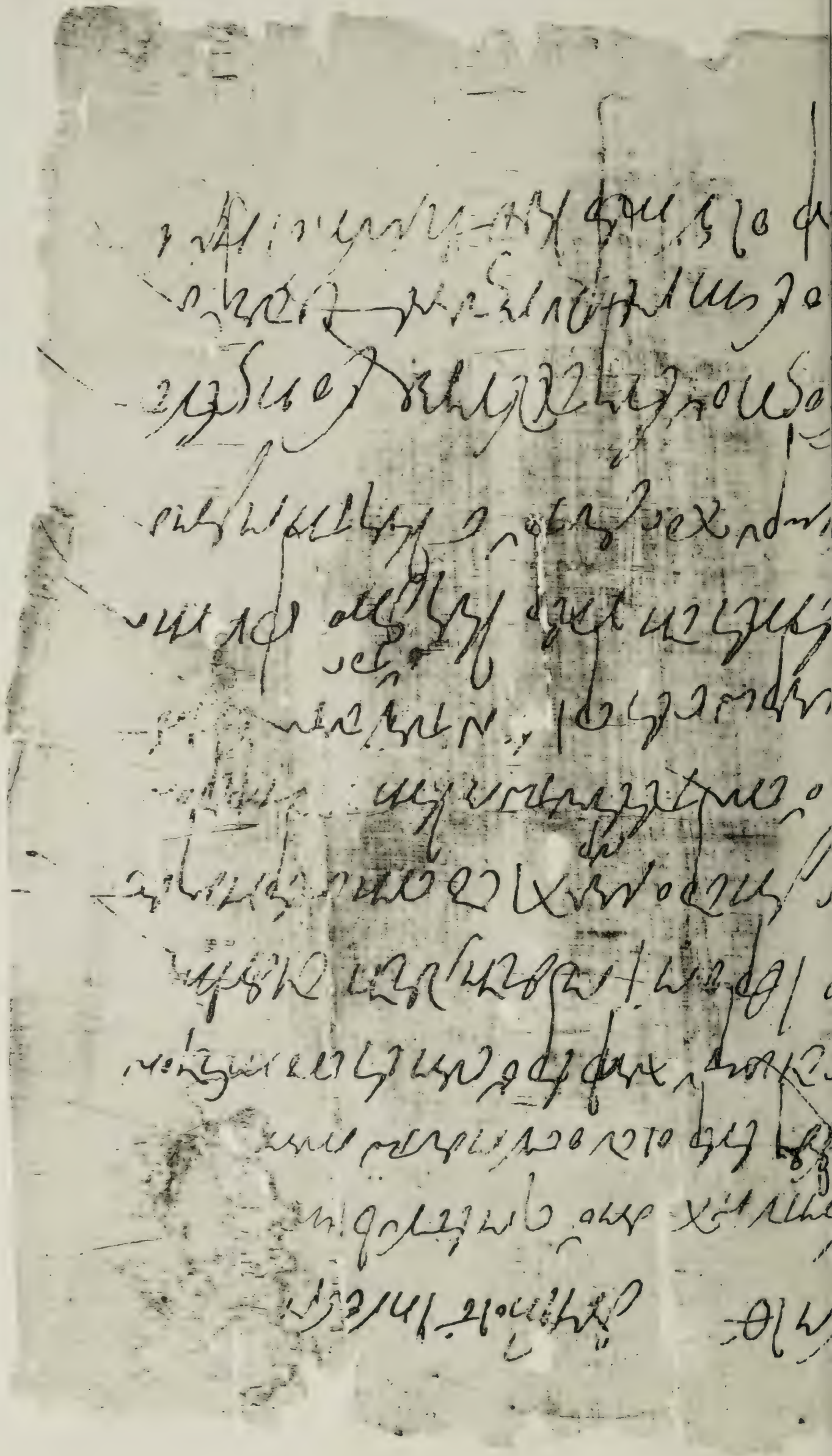
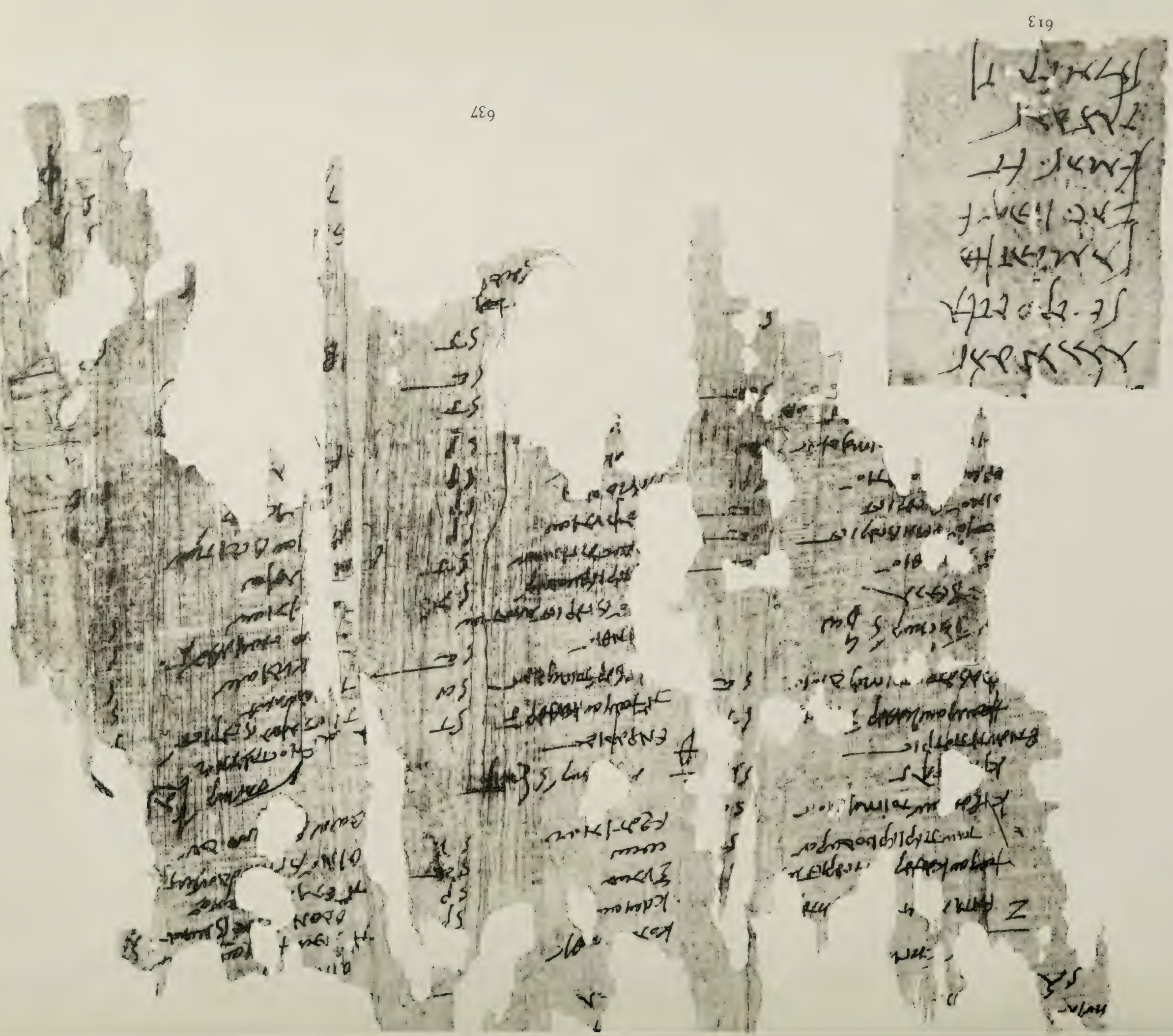


PLATE 5



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